

**"GYANLOK LIBRARY"**

लाल बहादुर शास्त्री राष्ट्रीय प्रशासन अकादमी

L.B.S National Academy of Administration

मसूरी  
MUSSOORIE

पुस्तकालय  
LIBRARY

अवाप्ति संख्या

Accession No.

115990

42705

वर्ग संख्या

Class No.

954.029

पुस्तक संख्या

Book No.

Hos

V.H



**THE SEIR MUTAQHERIN  
OR  
REVIEW OF MODERN TIMES:  
BEING AN  
HISTORY OF INDIA  
CONTAINING, IN GENERAL  
THE REIGNS OF THE  
SEVEN LAST EMPERORS  
OF HINDOSTAN**



THE SEIR MUTAQHERIN  
OR  
REVIEW OF MODERN TIMES:  
BEING AN  
HISTORY OF INDIA  
CONTAINING, IN GENERAL  
THE REIGNS OF THE  
SEVEN LAST EMPERORS  
OF HINDOSTAN

Volume IV

SEID-GHOLAM HOSSEIN-KHAN



INTER-INDIA PUBLICATIONS

D-17, RAJA GARDEN EXTN. NEW DELHI-110 015 (INDIA)  
PHONE: 5413145

**Cataloging in Publication Data — DK**

Gholam-Hossein-Khan, Seid, b. 1727 or 8.

A translation of the Seir mutaqherin, or, View  
of modern times.

4 v.

Reprint.

Includes index.

1. India—History—18th cent. 2. India—  
Kings and rulers. I. Title. II. Title:  
View of modern times.

ISBN 81-210-0059-9 (Volume IV)

ISBN 81-210-0055-6 (Set)

**First Published in — 1926**

Published in India by:

M.C. Mittal

**INTER-INDIA PUBLICATIONS**

D-17, RAJA GARDEN EXTN.,

NEW DELHI-110015 (INDIA)

PHONE : 5413145

Printed in India at :

**D. K. Fine Art Press**

Delhi-110052

THE  
SEIR MUTAQHERIN;  
OR  
REVIEW OF MODERN TIMES:  
BEING AN  
HISTORY OF INDIA,  
*FROM THE YEAR 1118, TO THE YEAR 1194, OF THE HEDJRAH.*  
CONTAINING, IN GENERAL,  
*THE REIGNS of the SEVEN LAST EMPERORS of*  
*HINDOSTAN,*  
AND, IN PARTICULAR,  
AN ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH WARS IN BENGAL;  
WITH A CIRCUMSTANTIAL DETAIL OF THE RISE AND FALL OF  
THE FAMILIES OF  
SERADJ-ED-DOWLAH and SHUDJAH-ED-DÖWLAH,  
THE LAST SOVEREIGNS OF BENGAL AND CWD.  
*To which the Author has added*  
A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE ENGLISH GOVERN-  
MENT AND POLICY IN THOSE COUNTRIES,  
AS FAR DOWN AS THE YEAR 1783.  
*The whole written in Persian,*  
BY  
SEID-GHOLAM-HOSSEIN-KHAN  
*An Indian Nobleman of high rank, who wrote both as*  
*Actor and Spectator.*

---

VOLUME IV.

---

CALCUTTA:  
PUBLISHED BY R. CAMBRAY & Co.,  
6 & 8½ HASTINGS STREET.

---

---

REPRINTED BY T. D. CHATTERJEE,  
AT THE  
“VALMIKI PRESS,”  
*100/2 Mechooa Basar Road, Calcutta.*

---

---

## C O N T E N T S

### TO THE FOURTH VOLUME.

---

*The Syks, once an order of mendicants, turn warriors, found a powerful State, and set up an Emperor of their own—Account of Mahomed-shah, Nisam-el-mulk, the Vezir Camer-eddin-ghan, and the Minister Emir-ghan, four illustrious personages, who all die within the year—Delhi plundered and sacked by the Abdalies, who invade Hindostan seven times—The French, grown powerful in Decan, are finally ruined by the English—Curious account of the origin of the Marhatta nation and Marhatta Monarchs, which latter split in two families—Ahmed-shah, and Aalemghir Second, two successive Emperors of Hindostan, blinded and set aside—Shudjah-ed-dowlah—Ruin of the Empire of Hindostan—Conquests and overgrown power of the English all over India, stopped short by wars and confederacies—Yenghi-d8nia, or America, revolts against the English, who wage war also with the Fransians, the Espan-yols, and the Hollanders, pervade all Decan, but are worsted by the Marhattas—The History of Aoreng-zib, resumed—He conquers the two Kingdoms of Bidjap8r and Haider-abad, and puts an end to two powerful Dynasties—Curious account of the Siege of Haider-abad, and lastly of Golcondah, its fortress.*

---



THE  
SËIR MUTAQHERIN;  
OR  
REVIEW OF MODERN TIMES :  
BEING AN  
HISTORY OF INDIA,

*FROM THE YEAR 1118, TO THE YEAR 1194, OF THE HEDJRAH.*

VOL. IV.

SECTION XVII.

CONTENTS.

*Ravages by the Syks, who set up an Emperor of their own*—They are defeated in a bloody battle by the Abdalies, or D8rranies, who repair to Cashmir, which they reconquer upon a Syk adventurer—Valuable character of this man—Who proves a man of letters and a beneficent Prince—Notice of five Cashmirian Poets and Litterati, who are ordered by him to compile from records a history of Cashmir—A curious historical account of the Marhatta nation from its origin—Singular pretensions of its ancient Princes—Bhosselah, the father of the present Marhatta Emperors—Sevadji, his son, assumes independence—Is obliged to submit—Rises again and establishes a tribute all over the Decan—Conquests of the Marhattas—Wars and conquests of Badji-r  o, who leaves his office of Generlissimo to his son, Baladji-r  o—Mighty change in that Empire, where the name of Monarch remains with the old family, which was military, whilst the power passes to another, which is sacerdotal—Insatiable ambition of the Marhattas—Their singular penurious way of life—Their singular customs and tempers—The author resumes his history of Hindostan—Mir-cassem-ghan takes shelter in Shudjah-ed-d  owlah's dominions—Events which become the consequences of it—Some account of Shah-aalem's Court—Account of S8r8dj-mull, the Djatt-Prince, a man of singular abilities—He disciplines a body of Cavalry after a method of

his own—War between him and Nedjib-ed-döwlah—Battle—S8r8dj-mull slain in a singular manner—Dissensions in his family—Good character of Nedjib-ed-dowlah, and very bad one of his countrymen—He is succeeded by Zabeth-qhan, a Prince of good character—Shah-aalem resolves to repair to the Capital of India—Opposed by the English and by his Ministers, parts willingly with his present well-being—Seizes by the way on a rich succession—Is supported by the Marhattas—Arrives in his Capital—Is vigorously supported by a new man, his General, Mirza Nedjef-qhan—Who is himself in great danger from Court intrigues—He regains the Emperor's favour—Who resolves to dispossess the Rohillhas of their conquests—Nedjef-qhan crosses the Ganga, and overcomes the Rohillahs—Who abandon their strong post, plunder each other, and disperse—Zabeta-qhan undone—Peace—The Marhattas retire—Nedjef-qhan projects conquests—Gains a victory—Takes Ecber-abad-agra—Shudjah-ed-döwlah avails himself of the losses of the Rohillahs to put an end to their dominion—Sends a message to their Princes—It is not attended to—Decisive battle at Banra, in which the Rohillahs are undone—Bravery of their General, Hafyz-rahmet—Shudjah-ed-dowla takes possession of their whole country—Fate of the Rohillah Princes—The treaty of the English with Shudjah-ed-döwlah highly censured in Europe—Alliance between Shudjah-ed-döwlah and Nedjef-qhan, followed by a treaty of partition between them—Shudjah-ed-döwlah prepares to enjoy his conquests, but is snatched away by a painful death—Remarks on the singular dispensations of Providence—His character highly reprehensible—He confiscates all the charity-lands—Shews a continual disregard to the honour and property of his subjects, and yet proves to be highly regretted—Strange precipitation of his son, Assef-ed-döwlah, (alias Mirza Amani) in seizing the throne—Installed on it by two English officers—The new Prince betrays a character monstrously vile—Heroical behaviour of one Mir Bahadyr-aaly—Moqhtar-ed-döwlah, Minister of State—Arrival of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Frances from Europe—Djan Brishtoo (John Bristow) appointed Resident at Lucknow, instead of Middleton—Senseless conduct of Assef-ed-döwlah, who disbands his father's disciplined troops, and discards his best servants—The principal military officer

*think of providing for themselves—Bessent-qhan, an eunuch, one of them, offers to murder the Prime Minister—Murders him—And is dispatched himself—Saadet-aaly, brother to Assefed-döwlah, being deeply involved in a complot, makes his escape, himself the sixth—Is handsomely received by Nedjef-qhan—The English concerned in kidnapping another Commander—Mah-bbəb-aaly-qhan served in the same manner, as is Letafet-aaly-qhan—The author quits his subject to give an historical account of himself, family, connections, &c.—The author resumes his narrative of public events—Iredj-qhan, Prime Minister at Lucknow—A worthless slave-boy, one of the vilest kind, made a Generalissimo—The Prime Minister dies—Is succeeded by Hassen-reza-qhan, a man who loves his pleasure above all things.*

THE Syks, those people whom we have represented as nearly destroyed under Feroh-syur, and who in the sequel had availed themselves of Mir-mann<sup>8</sup>'s neglect and of the extortionary administration of his officers to associate with their sect a great number of farmers, commenced now to raise their heads.

Grown exceedingly numerous, and sensible of the weakness of the present Government, as well as little intimidated by the name of the Abdali-king, whom they knew to be far off, they assembled in battle-array, and falling upon the Abdali Governor left at Lahor, they killed him, took possession of the city, and, not yet satisfied, they proclaimed a certain Chinta, a man from among themselves, Emperor. They made him sit upon a throne, struck money in his name, overran the whole province of Lahor, took possession of it, and made it a point to torment the Mussulmen by every means in their power. Intelligence of this revolution having been transmitted to Candahar, the Abdali-king resolved to make another expedition into Hindostan, and this was his seventh and last. It took place in the year 1175. But as the territory of Lahor was known to be the spot where the Abdalies, first of all, landed in their expeditions towards Hindostan, the Syks thought proper to evacuate it entirely; and repairing to the country of Rohy, a district of very difficult access, they took possession of a very strong fort in it, and assembled there from all parts, to the number of two lacs of men, cavalry and infantry. But this did not deter the Abdali-king. Informed of their retreat, as well as of their

Ravages of  
the Syks, who  
proclaim an  
Emperor of  
their own.

numbers, he measured ninety cosses of ground in two days(1), and falling upon those free-booters the moment he was least expected, he drew smoke from their breasts. About twenty thousand of them became food to his famished and thirsty sabre ; but the booty was immense, and beyond all computation. After this victory, seeing no enemy in the field, he put every thing to fire and sword in that country, which had associated with those miscreants ; and marching back, he planted his victorious standards in the territory of Lahor, where he employed his time in quieting and regulating that country. Meanwhile he dispatched an Abdali, called Noor-eddin-qhan,

But are  
defeated in a  
bloody battle  
by the D8r-  
ranies or  
Abdalies.

a near relation of his Vezir, towards Cashmir, with orders to bring the Syks of that country into order and submission. That country was then in the hands of Djiven the Syk. This man, born at Cab8l, of a Catri tribe, had been a writer and an accountant in some office under Shah-veli-qhan, Vezir to the Abdali-king, who sent him sometime after to enforce a payment due by Mir-mann8, Governor of Lahor. It was in the year 1167. But Abdollah-qhan having been ordered to repair to Cashmir to take possession of that country, which still acknowledged the auhtority of Alemghir the Second, Emperor of Hinodstan, that General who succeeded in this expedition, dismissed the Indian Governor, and appointed in his stead, Qhodja C8tchec, giving at the same time the management of the revenue to the Syk Djiven, who thereby became Divan or Intendant of the province. After these regulations, he left the new Governor a body of Afghans, and returned to his master. But hardly was he departed when troubles arose in Cashmir ; in which Djiven the Syk, having been deeply concerned, he commenced by killing the Commander of the Afghan Troops, after which he confined, and then banished from Cashmir, Qhodja C8tchec himself. At the same time he applied to the Vezir of Hindostan, Umad-el-mulk, requesting to have the patents of the Government of Cashmir in his own name, and these being granted without difficulty, the new Governor re-established everywhere the Hindostany government, ordered money to be coined, and the Qh8tbah to be pronounced, in the name of Alemghir the Second. After this he took possession of the

---

(1) About two hundred and twenty common miles of a thousand paces each.

revenue office, sent his collectors everywhere, confiscated all the lands possessed in Djaghir by the Grandees of the Court, and bore an absolute sway in the country.

Such a revolution could not have been brought about, but by a man of abilities. He was, besides, a well-looking, handsome man, naturally good, and of an obliging disposition, and although a Syk, he seemed in his belief and practice much inclined to Mussulmanism; for he used to set apart a sum of money for repairing the monuments of the Saints of Cashmire, and for putting in order the gardens and seats that surrounded them, and served for public walks. He made it a practice every day to give dressed victuals to two hundred Mussulmen, and twice in the month he sent qhoans or tables covered with a variety of dishes to a number of persons abroad. Naturally beneficent, he gave to every suitor that applied, but always according to his station or necessities. Every week he had a day set apart for hearing and entertaining the Poets of Cashmire. Amongst these he set apart five of the most learned ones to write the history of that country, from the first period in which it received inhabitants down to his time(2). But their business was only to abridge memoirs. To these five principal historians he added ten men of inferior learning, whose business was to assist the others in composing memoirs, examining records, and transcribing vouchers. Nor is it improper to mention here the names of these five select men. The first was Mahomed-tö8fic, the liberated, whose vulgar name in the Cashmirian language was Lala-dji. He had no equal in his time at Cashmire, and I remember this distich of his :

" Let the shaft come out with which thou hast transfixed my afflicted breast ;

" Let it emerge like one that comes out of a house that has freshly taken mourning."

The second was Mahammed-aaly-qhan, author of a book entitled Biography of the Poets. He was son to a nobleman of Iran, called Hessam-ed-din-qhan, and was then domiciled at Cashmire, and one of the Imperial Mansobdars of an inferior order(3). The third was Mirza Calender-metin-teghalluss. He

<sup>(1)</sup> Valuable character of Djiven.

<sup>(2)</sup> Who proves a beneficent Prince and a man of letters.

<sup>(3)</sup> Notice of the five Cashmirian Poets, who are employed by him to compile a history of Cashmire.

(2) There is a history of Cashmire, extant, written by a Cashmirian, but different from these five learned men, which reaches four thousand years back.

(3) The Mansobdars are Military Officers, reputed to command from two hundred and fifty to twelve thousand horse, and they are distinguished from each other by the

called himself sometimes by the name of Calender, and sometimes by the name of Canber(4); and his works are said to have amounted to one lack of verses. The fourth was Mohammed-aaly, vulgarly called Panna. There is a fifth, whose name I do not recollect at present.

To return to our history. The Abdaly-king, having set apart a body of Abdalies, and two other bodies composed of Ailats of Qhorassan and of Cuzzel-bashes of Herat, gave them to Noor-eddin-qhan, with orders to bring the Cashmir to a submission; and he directed the Radja of Djamb8 to assist the expedition with a body of his troops, who might serve as guides to the others. This Radja had made it a practice, whenever any army passed through his territory, to quit the plains, and to retire to a mountainous, difficult country, where he eluded every pursuit, sometimes indeed submitting to send a present in money; and as it was impossible to penetrate into Cashmir without Cashmirians or other guides, and the Syk Djiven had shut up the passage, and placed Cashmirian troops to guard them(5), it became impracticable even to approach that country, without the assistance of people accustomed to those mountains. It was with reason, therefore, that the Abdaly-king made an application to the Radja of Jamb8 for his assistance, and he desired to see him at his Court. This request had been made by the channel of Shah-veLi-qhan, the Abdaly's Vezir, and the Radja's particular friend; but the Gentoo Prince would not listen to the proposal. At last the Vezir having sent him his own son to be kept

particular number turned into an adjective, for instance, Ahmed-qhan-bahadyr, do-hezari, that is, the Valiant Lord Ahmed, the two thousandth. In general, they command a lesser number of men than their grade points out. But there are instances of an equality, and even of the very reverse; and there are some other instances where the dignitary is allowed two horses to a man, and in that case Ahmed, the two thousandth, has the further adjective, two-horsed, added to his title. All these are paid in lands, very few in money.

(4) Canber is the name of Aaly's dog; and although the Persians, in their jealousy of the English, affect to turn them in ridicule, and to render them odious by trumping up several extravagant tales about English and about dogs, (tales, where they equally betray their ignorance of the English, as well as their aversion to dogs,) nevertheless, Canber is another species of being. They allow him a place in Paradise, and are proud of bearing his name; but it is only the Shiabs Nassiries, that is, those that attribute Divinity to Aaly, that carry matters so far.

(5) Cashmir is a very strong country, and of difficult access.

in hostage, until he should return safe into his own country, the Radja became easy in his mind, and he gave the information wanted, and added a body of his own troops to serve as guides, throughout those mountainous tracts. The only passage from the Radja's country into Cashmir is by crossing the Chennav, a river that rushes betwixt two abrupt clifly shores with so much rapidity and such depth of water that neither man nor animal can pretend to abide its fury. Across this rapid river, the Vezir Shah-veli-qhan, by the Radjah's advice, ordered a number of tall trees to be stretched from cliff to cliff, to serve as a bridge, whereon the army might pass, and the whole passed accordingly; after which the Radja with his troops retired to his own country. There remained a narrow mountainous passage in which the Syk Djiven had thrown his best troops, and these having been driven away at last, after many actions and much bloodshed, the passage was cleared. Noor-eddin-qhan, having pursued the runaways, made a massacre of them, and without allowing them time to take breath, he arrived with them at the city of Cashmir. Here he was opposed by Djiven himself, at the head of what force he could collect; but after a slight action, the citizens fled. He fled with them, and in his flight he was taken prisoner with the principal men of the country. The King informed of this success of Noor-eddin-qhan, appointed him Deputy-Governor of the whole province, and in the year 1177 he resolved to return to Candahar. Quitting, therefore, the neighbourhood of Lahor, he marched to Cab8l, and this is the last time he came into Hindostan, the present being his seventh expedition into that country. For the troubles, that had arisen in his absence in Qhorassan, proved so very serious, that he found no time to destroy the Syks, and to establish his Government in Lahor and M8ltan upon a sure footing; so that these two provinces, as well as the Tatta, being nearly abandoned, and without a military force, they were invaded again by the Syks, who returned and established themselves firmly in those tracts. Not but that Prince, as well as his son and successor (Timur-sah), used sometimes to send bodies of horse into those countries, but it was rather with a view to procure plunder, and to raise contributions, than for any solid purpose; and in fact we see, that to this day, which is in the year 1195, those countries have remained unsubdued by the

Abdalies; nor is their authority acknowledged there. On the contrary, the Syks become more numerous and more powerful than ever, have established their collectors in every district of those three provinces, and they seem to make no account of any enemies whatever. But then they are no more those barbarians we have heard of. Sensible of the advantages of good government, they have put themselves upon the footing of using the husbandman and farmer with the utmost regard and tenderness; so that those countries are now in the highest degree of culture and population. Nevertheless, the mighty city of Lahor has ceased to be what it was. It has lost its populousness and its beauty. Those crowds of nobility and gentry, with all those learned men that(6) adorned it, have forsaken its walls, have preferred exile and distress to the dominion of strangers, whilst those that have bowed to the times, and submitted to that humiliation, and to its concomitants, want of employment and want of subsistence, live lurking in the ruins of their tottering habitations. It appears now, (and I am writing in the year 1195) that the forces of that flaming sword of the State, the Valiant Mirza Nedjef-qhan(7), Prince of Princes, have penetrated into those countries, and engaged the Syks in many actions, and made them feel his consequence. However, it is time alone that can determine how these new broils are likely to end. But as we have already said so much of this new power, as well as of the new sovereignty set up by Nedjef-qhan, in the northern parts of Hindostan, we think it incumbent upon us to introduce to our reader some account of the Marhattas, those southern conquerors, who now fill so vast a circumference in that region, as well as in Decan.

It appears from the earliest histories that the Monarchs of Hindostan have always commanded to the Princes of Decan, and that their armies have more than once penetrated as far as Lanca and Serendib(8); so that their government was absolute

(6) Lahor has been one of the Mussulman Universities of Hindostan, and its title in the Imperial Diplomas and Registers is *Dar-el-Ylm*, the habitation of Science.

(7) These words answer to the Persian words, *Zulficar-ed-döwlah*, *Mirza-nedjef-khan-bahadyr*, *Emir-ul-umrah*.

(8) It may be suspected that *Lanca* is no other than the famous temple of *Ramesseram*, at the head of the shoals and islands that lead upon a depth of only five feet from the Continent to the Island of Ceylon, nay, to be that broken tongue

in those distant parts. It is only since the reign of Mahmed-shah, whose Ministers were extremely inattentive, and whose government was very indolent, that the Marhattas finding the field open and undisputed, have spread themselves all over Hindostan, on whose inhabitants they have brought an infinity of evils ; so that few countries have remained free from their pillage ; and one of these is the A8d, which was indeed defended of the Continent itself, called by the natives *The first man's bridge*. Seren-dib is the Arabic manner of pronouncing Selen-div, the Island of Ceylon. *Lanca* may signify a bridge in Hindostany, from the word *Lang-na*, to go or straddle over. But it would not be impossible, (nay, it appears to be so in ancient geographical records,) that *Lanca*, known to be the name of the most meridional parts of India, should have extended some degrees beyond the Line, whereas it falls now some degrees short of it, and ends north of it. For it appears that *Lanca* must have been some great Island whose fragments have formed the Maldivas and Laquedivas : Archipelagoes, of which neither Strabo nor Ptolemy say a single word, doubtless because they did not exist in their time ; which Archipelagoes having no spinal bone, as all Islands have, that is, no chain of high grounds traversing them from end to end, and it being only flat sand, hardly two feet above the level of the sea, they seem evidently to have been formed by alluvion ; for the southern Indian coasts being eternally beaten by an ocean which the etesian winds endlessly pour against them, must have at same period or other experienced very great changes. Nny, we shall suspect that *Lanca* must have been Ceylon itself, and when we shall attend to this, that Ceylon which has not to-day two hundred and fifty leagues in circuit, had no less than four hundred in Marco-polo's time, who navigated thither, and says positively that the ancient Chinese Charts, then in his hands, gave it twelve hundred leagues, (an extent that must have carried it some degrees beyond the line) we shall no more be at a loss to find the Island of Tabo or Tapo-bonn, the Taprobana of the ancients : words which, we are told, signify in Shanscrit, the ancient language of India, *The Wilderness or Forest of Prayers*, an appellation which would befit Ceylon even to-day, were it because of the appearance of the interior parts of the country, and because of that concourse of Pilgrims that resort thither by thousands and ten thousands from all parts of India, to visit the impression of the foot of the first man which the Indians affirm to have been created there ; an assertion in which they do not seem to be much out of the way. For unless it is supposed that the first men came out of the ground, with each of them a loaf in their mouths, it follows of all necessity that they must have been created in a country where their wants might have been fewer, and their conveniences more at hand ; and of course in a country that did not require clothes, and abounded with spontaneous roots, and farinaceous plants, as is Ceylon and all the Torrid-zone. This surmise brings naturally to mind the conclusion, that the first men must have been black ; and that the Phoenicians and Egyptians, people very swarthy and with frizzled hair, were very much in the right, when on their first landing upon the then savage coasts of Europe, or *Europa*, they designed the few straggling savages they perceived, by the words, *Ur-apa*, white men. The reader will forgive this remark ; it is pedantic, but not distant from the subject.

by its situation on the other side of the Ganga, and by the vigorous exertions of Sadet-qhan and his posterity. Bengal, on the other hand, as well as Azimabad, owe their safety to Aaly-verdy-qhan's firmness and intrepid courage ; and Lahor, M8ltan, and Tatta, to their great distance from the central parts of the Marhatta dominions. Not that their armies and their ravages have not more than once reached to those parts ; nevertheless their government has never been fully acknowledged or established in any. But as we have in several parts of these sheets often mentioned these southern conquerors, it is proper to satisfy the curiosity of the reader by some account of the origin of their nation, as well as by some notion of the disputes and dissensions with which it is now distracted.

This nation arose originally in the Dë8-gur, a country on the western back of Bengal, and whose inhabitants to this day are called Marhattas, and speak that language. It was at first

A curious historical account of the Marhatta nation from its origin.

a particular tribe governed by the family of Bhosselah, which has since lost the sovereignty of it on being supplanted by that of Baladji-rão ; and here is what we know of certain on that subject. The Bhosselahs are descended from the Radjas or Kings of 8dëypoor, an ancient race of Princes, extremely honoured and respected amongst all the Radjp8t tribes, and which although greatly fallen from its ancient grandeur, and much less powerful than the families of Rhator and Retchöaha, still holds a pre-eminence amongst these illustrious houses; insomuch that not one of those Princes thinks himself lawfully seated upon the throne, until he has received the Cashcaw from the Prince of 8dëyp8r, which Cashcaw the receiver considers as a full investiture(9) ; and having rubbed it upon his forehead, from that moment only reckons himself a lawful Prince, and assumes the title of Radja. The 8dëyp8r Radja's particular style and title is that of Rana, and the general report is that his family is related to

---

(9) The Cashcaw is sent upon a small polished marble or stone, of the bigness of a plate or even a tea-saucer, and it consists of some sandal-wood and some lime, or turmeric, or Indian safron, all which is pounded to dust, and reduced into a paste by a mixture of some water. These ingredients must have first touched the sender's right toe, and they then are welcomed by the receiver with a deal of joy and respect; after which he dips his finger, and draws with those ingredients, or with any of them, one or several lines upon his forehead from the root of the hair, down to the tip of the nose.

An8b-shirvan the Just, Emperor of Iran(10). Some historians have wrote that after the conquest of Iran by Saad and Caass(11), the posterity of that Monarch dispersed, and that one of the Princes of that family coming to India, had risen in time to the dignity and station of Radja(12); after which his descendants styled themselves Ranaes. But as our duty is to admit only what has been ascertained by historians of undoubted credit, accordingly, this story proves to be groundless, and this pretended relation to An8b-shirvan is found to lean on the following historical fact: It appears, then, that Prince Partab-chund having set up pretensions to the Crown, and become prevalent, had set aside the children of Ram-dë8, taken possession of the throne, and thought himself powerful enough to assert his own independence, and to refuse to send the usual tribute which the Sovereigns of India used to pay to the Emperors of Iran. An8b-shirvan hearing of this, sent an army in India, with orders to bring the refractory Prince to his Court, bound hand and foot. Partab-chund, become now sensible of his error, humbled himself before the Iranian General, kissed the ground in his presence, and atoned for his rebellion by assembling his richest jewels with an immense sum of money, which he sent with his daughter to the

Singular  
pretensions of  
their ancient  
Princes.

(10) This An8b-shirvan reigned at the beginning of the seventh Christian century; and it is under his reign that Mohammed was born. His dominions did not extend to Mecca, so sterile a country being not worth his while; but his Empire extended much beyond it, that is, in Yaman, or Arabia Felix, and from all over Persia, to all Euzbeg-Tartary, and to all Hindostan. And it appears that so early as four thousand years ago, India acknowledged a subjection to the Emperors of Persia of the first race; and it should seem also from what the Jewish colony of Cochin says, that Baht-ennussar's (Nebuchadnezzar's) Empire extended to Cape Comorin. Those that are learned in the Sanskrit language will have it one day in their power to ascertain how far the religion of India and Persia resembled each other. For our part, we perceive a constant vassallage, a constant intercourse, much conformity in language, and a greater one in manners and customs and usages; and this similarity goes so far, that we find the Persian Legislator or Philosopher Zer-Ateusht conversed familiarly with Chunguc-Acha, or Pil-Pai, the Indian Philosopher, without a linguist.

(11) Saad was the name of that General of Omar's who conquered Persia.

(12) The similarity of religion must have been great, indeed, for a Persian foreigner to become at once and be acknowledged as Radja over an Indian tribe. To-day a Persian conqueror may come and reign as Lord over an Indian tribe; but the whole nation, to the very last man, could readily suffer death rather than have any communion with him as Radja.

Cosro(13) of Iran, accompanying the Princess with an humble message where he supplicated that Monarch's forgiveness. An8b-shirvan accepted the present, and confirmed him in the possession of the Crown ; and it remained a number of ages in Partab-chund's descendants, who styled themselves Ranaes. But those descendants, losing by degrees their wonted energy, were in process of time stripped of the greatest part of their dominions by the subordinate Princes, who left them only a small principality ; nevertheless, without ever ceasing to pay the highest honour and respect to those descendants, whom they reputed to be the representatives and deputies of the Cosroes of Iran, and as Partab-chund, the chief of the family, had married his daughter to An8b-shirvan, it is from thence that the Indian Prince's posterity claimed a parentage with a relationship to that Cosro. But this relationship has no other foundation than that of Partab-chund's sending his daughter to that Prince ; for although the Gentoo Princess entered the Imperial sanctuary of Iran, and was enlisted amongst the angels of that sacred paradisical place, nevertheless, as the evidence expected from her person did not make its appearance, she was neglected. Nor does it appear that An8b-shirvan ever had any other known child but Hormoz, whose mother was certainly a lady of one of the first houses in Iran.

After a digression that seemed necessary, we will now return to our history of the Marhatta nation. One of the descendants of the Ranna happened to be born from a carpenter's daughter, and as the Gentoos, to a man, make no account of such children as are born out of wedlock, or from women other than those of their own tribe, this descendant, who found himself held in an inferior light by his relations and by his own tribe, quitted 8dëypoor in disgust, and turning his steps towards

(13) It appears that all the Roman Emperors were called Káissars and Kaisser-shahs all over the East, that is Cæsars, and the Iranian Emperors, Cosroes ; as are the Turkish Emperors called, Qhoncars ; and those appellations were and are admitted by the respective Emperors and nations. But there are two more titles famous all over the East, of which however the pretended owners know nothing, and these are Moghul, for the Emperors of Hindostan, and Faghf8r, for those of China ; the last word being the more unlucky, as the Chinese language afforded no *R* in its letters, and the word Faghf8r is used to signify porcelain.

the south, and in particular towards the Carnatic, he settled in that country, where, on account of his high extraction, he married amongst the Princes of that region. From this marriage sprung two sons, and two families, the one called that of Antöuliah ; the second, that of Bhöuselah. Sahö-dji, whom history mentions to have been an officer of merit in the service of Burham-eddin-nizam-shah, King of Häider-abad, descended in a direct line from that Bhöuselah. He afterwards quitted that Prince, and took service with Hibrahim-adel-shah, King of Bidjap8r, who being extremely satisfied with his services, gave him the Pergannah or District of P8nah in appanage. Saho-dji, now turned farmer and Zemindar, or landholder, cultivated that spot with all his might, but under a certain quit rent, and in the form of a zemindary ; so that he passed his life upon that estate, but this was only for a short time. His active mind did not brook inaction, and he quitted his freehold to take service with the fortunate conqueror, Shah-djehan, that second Lord of conjunction(14). After a very active life, he was succeeded in his estate by his son, Seva-dji, who seemed likewise to inherit all his father's character. It was at the time when Hibrahim-adel-shah having fallen into a lingering disease that carried him to his grave, after suffering during two years, he had so far neglected the administration, that great troubles had arisen in his dominions, the troops disbanded and came to Bidjap8r, and the country of Cöucan or Concan, amongst others, lost all its garrisons at once, and was left to itself. The advantage that could be made of such a state of things could not escape a man like Seva. This founder of the family of Bhöuselah was a sensible shrewd man, remarkable for his bodily strength and for much personal prowess, as well as for much capacity. Availing himself of the confusion and inactivity of the times, he put himself at the head of a number of people which his character kept together, and by them he was enabled to take possession of several forts and fortresses, that proved empty of troops, or unguarded. Meanwhile Hibrahim-adel-shah's life drawing to an end, his son, Aaly-aadel-shah, mounted his throne, and as his administration, both on account of his character and also of his youth, wanted energy, the troubles in his dominions went on

Seva-dji,  
his son, as-  
sumes inde-  
pendence.

(14) The conjunction of the Planets of Jupiter and Mars.

increasing ; and Seva, becoming daily more powerful and enterprising, found means to bring under his power all the strongholds of the Cöukan or Concan, one after another ; and these together with those he built himself, amounted to full forty fortresses, replenished with every store convenient for their defence. He was likewise in possession of several difficult tracts that might have been defended like so many fortresses : a situation that put it in his power to assume independence, and to bid defiance to his master, Aaly-aadel-shah, whose principal Minister and General, Afzyl-qhan, he found means to surprise and kill ; after which he plundered his camp, and stripped his soldiers. Nor did Rostem-qhan, another General of that Prince's, fare better than his predecessor ; he too was shamefully defeated. After this victory Seva ceased to pay any regard to the Adel-shahians, and he commenced making courses and ravaging the country ; and as the Cöukan, of which he was now the undisputed master, borders upon the bitter waters(15), he became possessed of several harbours, and commenced driving at sea the trade which highwaymen exercise at land, waylaying merchants, and plundering their property. Become bolder by continual successes, he attacked the neighbouring countries of Aorenzib's jurisdiction, and committed spoil as often as he found an opportunity. The Monarch being informed of his excesses, ordered Shahistah-qhan, Viceroy of Decan, to chastise that freebooter, and Radja Djesvent-Rhator received orders likewise to join that General. The two Generals entered the Cöukan, and burned it from end to end, but not without much difficulty and bloodshed. Seva, or Seva-dji, who had many friends and relations in Shahista-qhan's army, engaged them to rise in a certain night(16), in which the General was to marry his son. The scheme was to fall suddenly upon that General, and to kill him, and although it did not succeed fully to his wishes, it put it in his power to surprise that General in his camp, and to give him a shameful defeat. This happened in the year 1073. The

*His successors.*

(15) Deria-shor are the Persian words used in India to signify the Ocean, or Sea. But the Indians have the word Samahender for that element.

(16) All marriages in India are celebrated by torch light, as the heat of the day would render such ceremonies insupportable, and the nights are of a coolness truly admirable.

Emperor, informed of this event, severely reproached the General for his neglect, dismissed him from his Government, and appointed in his stead his own son, the Imperial Prince Soltan Muäzzem ; and as he was no better satisfied with Radja Djesvent's activity in this war, he sent for him to Court, and appointed in his stead Radja Djehi-sing. This Prince proving quite another man, chastised Seva-dji severely, as often as he could come up with him ; so that the latter finding that all was going to wreck, thought proper to submit. He came unarmed, and having entered into a treaty with the Gento Prince, he agreed to surrender and evacuate twenty-three fortresses which were pointed out to him, and to pay a present of ten lacs of Hoons(17). This treaty having been agreed to by the Emperor, an Imperial edict issued from the Chancellerie, forgiving his past misdemeanours, and creating his son, Simba, a Monsobdar of five thousand horse. Seva-dji, satisfied with this grade, resolved to kiss the Imperial threshold, and going to Agra with his son, he inclined himself profoundly before the Monarch, by whom he was received with particular regard. But the man, born far from the Capital, and in the middle of the mountains of Decan, had too much Decanism in himself yet, and too little acquaintance with the Courts of Emperors, to set a proper value upon the reception he had received. He thought it far below what he was entitled to, and complained of it to Radja Djehi-sing's son, as of a want of attention and regard. This complaint was very ill taken. He was forbidden the Court, and guards were set over him, but his son, as not comprised in his guilt, was left at full liberty, and was received at Court as usual. It was the Emperor's intention to keep Seva-dji for some time in that school of respect and deference, and then to raise him to honours, on sending him back to his own country ; but Seva ; who knew nothing of that design, and had grown impatient of a restraint that had lasted these three months and nine days, resolved to set himself at liberty. He found ways to disguise himself, and, with his son, Simbah, to give the slip to his guards.

Is obliged  
to submit.

---

(17) This is the Indian word for that kind of Gold Coin, called Pagoda, which last is not so much as known amongst them. The Pagoda is worth from three rupées to three and-a-half and four rupees. It is stamped on the flat side with three small figures, half lengths, very coarsely executed, and on the convex side with small dots, and it looks like a round sleeve-button.

Arrived in his country, he commenced his ravages with more fury than ever, and he grew so formidable every day, that his incursions became the chief business of the Governors of those frontiers. At last he died on the twenty-fourth of the second Reby, in the year 1098 ; and his son, Simbah, continued as his father had commenced, but met with his deserts. For the troubles of the country having risen to a height, the Emperor Aoreng-zib himself thought it worth his while to repair in person to those frontiers. It was the next year, and he took up his abode at the city of Aoreng-abad, where for full twenty-five years he employed himself in chastising the Marhattas. But some of the Grandees of his Court, and some of the Generals of his army, who for private reasons of their own wished for a continuance of the war, found it their interest to support that criminal race underhand, and to prevent its being exterminated.

**Simba, his son.** Simba had two sons, Ram-radja and Saho-radja. These, after Aoreng-zib's demise, found means to plant on the frontiers of the Imperial dominions the shrub of partnership(18), a shrub that spread its roots from near to near, whilst those that had planted it extended their dominion upon some parts of the south of India, not comprised within the Governments of Decan ; and here is some account of this matter.

At the end of Aoreng-zib's reign, it was determined to come to some accommodation with the Marhattas, and to grant them one Des-m8kki, or tenth, out of the product of those southern frontiers(19), in lieu of all their pretensions, under condition of their acknowledging themselves henceforward subjects of the Empire, and abstaining from incursions and ravages. Ahsen-qhan-mir-melenk, a nobleman of importance in those parts, had even been sent with the diploma of this treaty, and with orders to bring the Marhatta Generals to pay their obeisance to the Imperial threshold. Mir-melenk was already departed, with the treaty in his hand, when the Emperor altered his mind, and ordered that nobleman to return, without delivering the same. But in Bahadyr-shah's reign, it was agreed that the Marhattas should have one-tenth of that part of the crop, allowed

(18) The author means their establishing a right in the fourth of the revenue ; it is the chout.

(19) These words signify the tenth handful.

the farmer, and the patents of the agreement passed the seals and were put in their hands. That Prince, after this treaty, and the defeat of Cam-baqhsh, his brother, quitted the Decan, and marched towards Hindostan, leaving the government of all those southern countries to Zulficar-qhan, the Prince of Princes. It was in the year 1121 of the Hedjrah. This Viceroy, unwilling to remain at a distance from Court, followed the Emperor, leaving for his Deputy in those countries, an illustrious Afghan of those parts, called Dä8d-qhan-peni, and this Deputy Viceroy made it a standing rule to allow the Marhattas one-quarter of the Imperial revenues of those countries, over and above the ten per cent. which they had been allowed as Des-mucky over the husbandman's share, in consequence of the Imperial Diploma, now in their hands : a partage which became a current custom and an inviolable rule all over the Decan. But yet the Marhattas had no Imperial patent for this Chö8t, or fourth part of the Imperial revenues. Nor was this matter settled and registered but in Feroh-syur's reign. For this Prince, who could not bear the two brothers, Sëyds, used continually to excite Sah8 Radja, son to Simbah, against Husseïn-aaly-qhan, who had succeeded Zulficar-qhan in the Government of all the Decans, and as this nobleman was perpetually exhorted by his elder brother, Abdollah-qhan, the Vezir, to come to Court, where the Emperor was perpetually involved in continual machinations against their lives and their families, Husseïn-aaly-qhan, to be at liberty to repair to Court, came to an agreement with the Marhattas, in the year 1129. This treaty was managed on one hand by Mahmed-anvar-qhan, the Burhanp8rian, and on the other by Sanera-dji-malhar, the Marhatta ; and the right of raising the Chöut all over the six Governments and-a-half of the Viceroyalty of Decan being entirely acknowledged in the Marhattas, the patents of it were drawn up in due form and put in their hands, under these two conditions only : that they should abstain from all incursions and ravages ; and that they should constantly keep in the service of the Viceroy of Decan a body of fifteen thousand horse. This Chöut or quart was admitted over and above the tenth or Des-mucky, mentioned above. Thus it became a tribute acknowledged as a balance due to the Radja Sah8 on the Cöucan, his original kingdom ; and Baladji, son to Beshennat, a

Brahman of this last country, having been appointed Deputy General on the part of that Prince to put the treaty in execution, he established in each province two collectors of his own, one of whom, under the name of Mucasdar, collected the Chöut, whilst the other made his business of the Des-mucky. This treaty, by putting a stop to the periodical ravages of the Marhattas, enabled the devastated provinces of Decan to recover a little, and cultivation as well as population shewed part of their features again. But it may be said, however, of those countries, that they were from that moment severed from the Empire, and that the Imperial commands ceased to have any energy all over the Decan; for the Chöut was sometimes carried so high as a third of the whole revenue.

Hosseïn-aaly-qhan, being by this agreement left at full liberty to turn his views towards the Capital of the Empire, appointed his nephew, Alem-aaly-qhan, as his Deputy General all over those countries, and he marched towards Hindostan with thirty or forty thousand horse of his own, and another numerous Marhatta cavalry, under the command of Baladji-beshvent. Arrived in the Capital, Hosseïn-aaly-qhan deposed Feroh-syur, and raised to honors and dignities Sancra-dji-malhar, whom he sent back to Decan jointly with Baladji-beshvent, where these two men worked themselves into so much influence and power, that they equalled and rivalled Alem-aaly-qhan himself. Some time after Alem-aaly-qhan perished in battle. The power and life of the two Sëyds of Bar were brought to an untimely end, and Baladji himself departed this world. He was succeeded in all his dignities and influence by his son, Badji-rão, whom the Radja Sah<sup>8</sup> appointed his Chief Minister, and who pushed still farther the Marhatta acquisitions. For Raja Gurd-hur-nagur having been appointed by Mahmed-shah to the Government of Malva, in the year 1137, had all the pains in the world to maintain himself in it. He had hardly enjoyed it for two years together, when Holcar-malhar, who had been one of Baladji's principal Commanders, came with an army of Marhattas, and made the new Governor so uneasy in his Government, that he died of vexation, leaving his Government to his son, who was slain in defending the city of Udjéin against Malhar; after which the Malva was completely ravaged by the Marhatta horse. Six years after

that date, Mahmed-qhan-bangash was sent to govern that unfortunate country. He arrived at Udj  in ; but the country meanwhile had been so much devastated and over-run by the Marhattas, that his authority did not find soil enough to take root in it. Two years after, that Government was conferred on Radja Djehi-sing, a Hindoo, who influenced by his religious and national principles, listened to whatever Badji-r  o seemed to instil in his mind. Even the Province of G8djr  at, which after the dismission of Ser-b8lend-qhan had been conferred on Radja Abhi-sing-Rhator, fared no better, and was soon over-run and subdued by the Marhatta cavalry, excited and supported underhand by Hamed-qhan, a relation of Nizam-el-mulk. So that Badji-r  o finding by the ease with which both Malva and the G8djr  at had been over-run and conquered, that the Empire itself was impotent, and its Ministers slothful and incapable, he advanced fearlessly farther and farther. It is true that Muzaffer-qhan, brother to the Minister Qhan-d  8ran, was sent to oppose him, and he seemed inclined to engage the Marhatta ; but the latter not thinking a battle advantageous for themselves at this time, returned to Decan ; and Muzaffer-qhan, who had advanced as far as Seroudj, but found no enemy in the field, and nothing but a ruined country before him, returned to the Capital, victorious indeed if you will, but without having come to either battle or an engagement. The next year Badji-r  o having returned into Hindostan, both the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan, and the Prince of Princes Qhan-d  8ran came out of the city to meet him in the field. They marched by two different roads for that purpose, and had advanced thirty or forty cosses in the Malva. This man  uvre did not impose on the Marhatta, who sent Pelid-dji, surnamed the sorcerer, with part of his army against the Vezir, and Holcar-malhar with the other, against Qhan-d  8ran. Pelid-dji engaged the Vezir three or four times, and was as often worsted, whilst Qhan-d  8ran, jealous of his success, commenced with Malbar a negotiation for peace ; and a treaty having been soon concluded, he returned to the Capital in company with the Vezir himself. But in the year 1148, Qhan-d  8ran, gained by Radja Djehi-sing-siv  i, turned the Emperor's mind in such a manner, that the Government of both Malva and G8djr  at was conferred on Badji-r  o. The next year, this General returned to Malva with

a numerous cavalry, and having established his Government in that province, and put the collections in a proper order, he turned his arms against Radja Behdor, whom he besieged in his Capital, which he took. The Radja unable to stand in the field, quitted the flat country, and retired into a mountainous tract, where he was safe; so that Badji-rão finding that nothing further could be done with him, finished the destruction of his country, and then turned his thoughts towards becoming master of the country of Anter-bid, which we have observed to comprise all the tract of land betwixt the Ganga and the Djumnah. For this purpose he sent Pelid-dji, the sorcerer, with an army in that country, from whence he knew that Saadet-qhan had just crossed over towards Ecber-abad, and his orders were to attack this General in his way. But Pelid-dji having been encountered by the latter, who saved him one-half of the journey, an engagement ensued, in which the Marhatta lost so many of his men, that he fled with all his might, re-crossed the Djumnah, and was at all the pains in the world to rejoin Badji-rão. Moreover, in crossing the river, he mistook his ford, and lost an infinity of men, who fell a prey to that insatiable alligator, the inexorable Fate. It was observed of Saadet-qhan, that he dismissed fifteen hundred prisoners, after having given each of them a blanket and two rupees. Badji-rão, worsted in the Anter-bid, thought of recovering his character by making a push towards the Capital itself, the environs of which he plundered and ruined at his pleasure. At last the Vezir and Qhan-döran came out to put an end to his ravages, and they were soon joined by Saadet-qhan himself, and by Mahomed-qhan-bangash, who all advanced with an intention to engage the enemy. But the Marhatta finding no advantage likely to be got by battle, retired by the way of Acber-abad into Malva; and we have mentioned that event at large in the former volume. All this happened about the year 1150, when Nizam-el-mulk, Viceroy of Decan, being called to Court, the Government of Malva was conferred upon himself, and he advanced to take possession. Badji-rão, on his side, resolved to dispute such a prize, and he came out of Decan with a numerous cavalry; insomuch that the two armies were on the point of meeting in the territory of Bopal, when news coming at this time that Nadyr-shah was rapidly advancing towards the Capital of Hindostan, Nizam-el-mulk, who thought

a victory on Badji-rão but a small object, compared to an event of such magnitude as Nadyr-shah's arrival, returned thither expeditiously.

While Nizam-el-mulk was engrossed by his expedition against Badji-rão, Rago-dji-bhosselah, Mucasdar of the Province of Barar, and a son of Radja Sah8's uncle, having had some difference with Shudjah-qhan the Ilah-abadian, Deputy Governor in that province on the part of Nizam-el-mulk, fell upon him, gave a defeat to his troops, and killed him in battle ; and as Nadyr-shah's expedition into Hindostan had given such a wound to the vitals of that Empire, that it could never recover from it, Badji-rão, emboldened by such a state of things, took possession of all the Djaghirs and appanages which an infinity of Monsobdars held in Dccan, either from the Emperor himself or from Nizam-el-mulk ; and thus stood the state of things during the remainder of that Viceroy's life. But Nassyr-djung, his son and successor, having thought proper, after Nadyr-shah's departure, to send a message to Badji-rão, with a remonstrance on that subject, the remonstrance had its effect ; all those Djaghiry lands were released, and they returned to their owners. But this condescension did not prevent the Marhatta from assembling in the year 1152, an army of fifty thousand horse, with which he surrounded Nassyr-djung in Aorenghabad, with an intention to make an end of him, and he encamped for that purpose on the south side of that city, but close to its walls. Nassyr-djung, who had no more than ten thousand horse, disdained to be shut up within walls, and coming out, he left Badji-rão and his army behind, wheeled round his rear, and pushed forward, resolved to plunder P8nah, which he conjectured to be totally unattended to. Badji-rão threw himself in his way, but he beat him over and over, until he crossed the Ganga of Decan(20), from whence he ravaged the whole country. This conduct having convinced Badji-rão that nothing was to be done with people that had adopted his own system of warfare, he sent a message to Nassyr-djung, requesting the honour of a conference with him ; which request being agreed to, he was received with the highest marks of distinction, and had the Districts of Carcon and Hindaïa bestowed on him as a Djaghir. Badji-rao satisfied with having concluded

---

(20) Alias the Godavery.

a peace, so much to his own advantage, marched on to Malva, and he was already arrived at the Nerbedda, when he fell sick, and departed this life. It was in the year 1153. His son, Baladji-rão succeeded him in all his dignities and offices. In this year, likewise, Nizam-el-mulk, having been dismissed by the Emperor to his own Government of Decan, he set out for that country, and on his arrival at Burhanpoor, Baladji-rão, who was then on his march for Malva, came and paid him a respectful visit. Nizam-el-mulk, after his arrival at Aoreng-abad, had several opportunities of observing the restless temper of the Marhattas, who moved several times during the eight years he lived there, but were chastised and beaten as often, and as often was a peace concluded. A peace was likewise concluded between Nassyr-djung, his successor, and Sah8 Radja, and it was observed on both sides; and although the former perished by a conspiracy in the Carnatic, and the latter died in the year 1163, yet Baladji-rão observed the same, and was succeeded by Seda-sy8, surnamed Bahö8, and brother to Baladji-rão's uncle, who became the sole disposer of all the affairs of the Marhatta Empire; and it was in his time that a mighty change took place in the Government of that Monarchy.

Mighty changes in that Monarchy, where the name of Monarch remains in one family, whilst the power passes to another.

So late as the reign of Sah8 Radja, the throne remained in the possession of the family of Brosselah; but after his demise, matters took a different turn, and it was observed, that the Regent, so far from putting a Prince of that family at the head of affairs, kept the Government in his own hands, and under the modest title of "Precursor," he in fact remained the absolute master and sole disposer of the administration, civil and military, neglecting and even setting aside entirely every one of those who had previously been in power. We have already mentioned what influence and authority that new family had acquired, both in Decan and Hindostan, after the demise of Radja Sah8. Nor can that account, no more than this compendium, appear the least doubtful; for it is extracted from the historical works of the illustrious Poet Mi-gh8iam-aaly, the Belgramite, who having spent his life in the Court of Decan, where his influence rendered him a man of importance, had access to all records, knew minutely every transaction of Decan relative to those countries, and was perfectly acquainted with the general history of the

Marhatta Empire, as also with the particular origin and rise of the family of Radja Sah8, as well as of the Brahmanical family of Cöucan. The digression, therefore, into which we have launched, was with a view to oblige and inform the lovers of history; nor will it prove foreign to our work to say, that both these two Marhatta families seem to aim at no less than the depriving all mankind of subsistence, in order to draw it to themselves. They leave neither Zemindary or patvary(21), nor any subordinate authority, nor any hereditary command, anywhere in their dominions, or wherever they can extend their power; making it a point to tear up by the roots all such people as have any personal authority; suffering no other power to exist than their own, and seeming to be intent on becoming masters of the whole surface of the earth. But how to believe that the Almighty Cherisher of both the believer and unbeliever, of the Mussulman and Hindoo, would suffer this earth to be engrossed by one single race, or nation, He whose providence has appointed the several parts of it to afford endlessly a subsistence to a variety of tribes and races. If any thing can give a proper idea of the delicacy of feeling, and of the noble notions of that singular people, it is probably some authentic particulars which we know of Baladji-rão's way of living. This man, who had become absolute in Hindostan as well as in Decan, was fond of bread made of Badjrah(22), and had no kind of relish for that made of wheat. He lived on raw Bringelas(23), on unripe mangoes, and on raw red pepper,

Insatiable ambition of the Marhattas.

Their singular penurious way of life.

(21) The words Patvary, Tall8cdary, and Cho8drai signify so many inferior kinds of Zemindaries, that is Lordships; they signify also a Copy-hold Tenure.

(22) Badjra is a small minute grain of a dirty brownish green, which gives a black bitterish bread. Possibly it is the Sarrazin of Europe, which we never had any opportunity of seeing there. It is about Lucknow, the food of the poorest people, who buy it at about three hundred pounds weight for less than eighteen pence; English Barley which is somewhat dearer, being in town, the food of labouring people.

(23) Bringelas, called over the East *Bodindjan* and *Bangan*, are to be seen in plenty from Provence and Languedock, as far as Turky, Persia, and all the East as far as China. It is a fruit sometimes as big as a child's head, but in general oblong, it grows upon a prickly shrub, and tastes like an Artichoak, boiled. It loses its bitterness when boiled in India; but it may be sweet in the mountainous parts of the Marhatta country, as it is in fact at Mecca, where we have eaten it raw several times. Mangoes, the most delicious fruit, existing, are exceeding sour, when unripe; although there are some particular trees that afford sweet mangoes, even long before they have acquired a mellowness.

upon which delicacies he used to feed heartily. Let the reader guess the taste of the whole nation by this specimen of its Chiefs. As the Brahmans are beggars by origin, and it is a standing obligation amongst them, both to ask and to receive alms, the whole race has accustomed itself from generation to generation to such kinds of dainties and beggary with its concomitants, want of taste, and want of delicacy, stick close to all individuals, and is become a part of their nature, and although they have come to command Kingdoms, and to rule over Empires, they are still the beggars they have been. Go to any of them, from the lowest clerk to the highest man in the office, and to the Minister of State, and the first words which you shall hear from them are always these : “ *What have you brought for me ? — Have you brought any thing for me ?* ” And should any man go empty handed to them, they would strip him of his turbant and coat, and then recommend him devoutly to God Almighty.

“ I see nowhere but a variety of beggar’s platters.

“ Were a beggar to become a King, he would turn all mankind into beggars.”

The cause of this want of taste and delicacy, as well as of the little improvement which their manners and tempers seem to be susceptible of, may be traced in that coarse fare in which the rich as well as the poor seem to delight. They live chiefly upon pulse, that species particularly called T8vur(24) ; nor do they give it that preparation calied Bagar in India, and which is done by frying it with some butter, but they throw their butter over the pulse already boiled, so that the butter being raw, does not correct its taste ; and this too is in so small a quantity, that it amounts to its not being there at all. Then their sauces and fare are stuffed with immense quantities of ginger, turmeric, and red pepper ; and as to the last, they eat quantities of it, raw, whilst they are taking their meals. This way of living being transmitted from generation to generation, becomes so far customary and familiar, as to give them a peculiar constitution. Hence their distempers in general happen to be of the bilious and melancholy kind ; and hence the physicians of India, who adapt their remedies to the diseases, have it in practice to give them warm stimulating medicines, appropriating their prescriptions to the constitutions of their patients. After having given this succinct account of a nation that cuts so great

---

(24) The T8vur is called Arhur, in Bengal and in Hindostan.

a figure in our history, I must protest that I have said nothing but what I have myself observed as a matter of fact; and that I am not influenced by either jealousy or partiality. It is a singularity amongst these people, that, although Gentooes or Hindooes(25), they never use in their letters, diplomas, and records, any other epoch than the Mohammedan one, of the Hedjrah, writing the date in Arabic words, but in Marhatta characters.

Their singular temper and customs.

After such a digression upon a nation that fills so vast a circumference in Hindostan, we are very naturally carried back to the thread of our narrative on the affairs of that country. Shudjah-ed-döwlah, after having taken the Fort of Djansi, and driven the Marhatta collectors from the Anterbid, tarried at Shah-abad with the Emperor Shah-aalem, intending to bring the Bundelcund likewise under subjection, and to establish that Prince's Government in those parts likewise. But whilst he was preparing for this expedition, in the year 1177, his attention was diverted by another object, *to wit*, the arrival of Mir-mahmed-cassem-qhan, the Aaly-djah(26), who being defeated and chased by the English, had come so far to seek an asylum in Shudjah-ed-döwlah's dominions, and in the Emperor's Court. It was at Ilah-abad that this fugitive had an interview with the Viceroy, and as he soon had opportunities of observing, that his attention, engrossed by his future expedition of the Bundelcund, did not allow him to mind anything else, he offered his service for that purpose. He had already a friend in that country, and this was Mirza-nedjef-qhar, whom he had dismissed with honour from the Keremnassa, but who was now in the Radja of Bundelcund's service. Partly by force, and partly by the insinuations of that officer, he soon brought that affair to a conclusion that did him much honour. In acknowledgment for this service, which raised the fugitive's character, Shudjah-ed-döwlah resolved to assist him in the recovery of his dominions, by attacking the English; an expedition where he was himself totally

Arrival of  
Mir-cassem-  
qhan, Navvab  
of Bengal, in  
Shudjah-ed-  
döwlah's do-  
minions.

(25) There are three eras in India, amongst the Gentoos. That used in Bengal dates to-day (1786) Eleven hundred and ninety-two years. There is a more sacred one, which dates from the time when one of their Philosophers, called Basdeb, published, more than five thousand years ago, a Commentary on their religion and sacred law.

(26) These two words of Aaly-djah signify the high-seated, the one of eminent station, &c.

Events that  
are the con-  
sequences of  
it.

vanquished and defeated by those strangers, who granted him a peace, by which they restored the Province of A8d to Shudjah-ed-döwlah, but gave that of Ilah-abad to Shah-aalem, as we have mentioned at length in our former volume. This peace being concluded, Shudjah-ed-döwlah repaired to his own dominions, and Shah-aalem established his Government in Ilah-abad. One of the English Commanders remained in Shudjah-ed-döwlah's Court, as an Agent from his nation, and favour upon favour was heaping upon him. Another English Commander, but of a higher rank, such as a Colonel or a General, attended in the same manner with an army on the Emperor's person at Ilah-abad, and occasionally assisted him in establishing his Government in those parts. Mirza-nedjef-qhan, who had taken service with the English in their wars with Shudjah-ed-döwlah, and had proved serviceable to them, was for that attachment of his complimented with a pension of one lack a year, to be deducted out of the twenty-four lacks tribute, which that nation had obliged themselves to pay as an acknowledgment for their holding the Bengal. After a length of time, Mirza-nedjef-qhan was promoted to the Fodjday and Government of Corra, and ordered to clear that province of banditties, and to establish the Emperor's Government firmly. But the person who had taken possession of the Imperial mind, was Munnir-ed-döwlah, who under the modest name of Steward of the Imperial House-hold, had become in fact his Prime Minister, dismissing whom he pleased from the service. He had become also the main channel of communication between that Prince and the English. He was likewise the person pitched upon to go on his part in embassy to Calcutta, and it was during this absence, that some men of mean capacities and vile inclinations, found means to recommend themselves to that Prince. These were Hessam-eddin-qhan, Radja Ramnat, and Bahadyr-aaly-qhan; three men, who being of the same turn of mind, and having the same inclinations with Shah-aalem, soon found their way to his heart; Hessam-eddin-qhan, especially, who having made it a point to procure pretty virgins and agreeable young women from all parts, which he got instructed in the accomplishments of dancing and singing, used to present them to the Emperor, who often introduced them into the Imperial Sanctuary, where some of them became favourites, and proved

Some ac-  
counts of  
Shah-aalem's  
Court.

greatly instrumental in the seraglio in promoting their introducer's interest and in filling his purse. It was by such means as these, he soon became one of the principal Lords of the Court and one who acted as a Minister of State. Unhappy the country where men rise to honours by such vile practices! It was at such a period as this, and in such a school, that Shudjah-ed-döwlah thought proper to place Mirza-saadet-aaly, his younger son, to represent his father in the office of Vezir. He likewise appointed some of his friends to exercise the office of Mir-ateshy, and some other offices effected to his family; and himself now and then made a voyage to Ilah-abad to pay his respects to the Emperor. The account of Shah-aalem's Court naturally brings to our recollection the affairs of the Capital.

We have been mentioning that Nedjib-ed-döwlah, a Rohillah Prince, promoted by the Abdali-king to the office of Prince of Princes, or of Emir-el-umerah, had been left as a guardian over the young Prince, Djuvan-baqht, who had been placed by a faction upon the throne with the same name and title as was borne by his father, who was then waging war in Bengal. Nedjib-ed-döwlah, under the young Prince's name, governed with absolute authority in the Capital, and it must be acknowledged that for an Afghan and a Rohillah, he was not defective either in sense or in good manners; but he deserved besides such a high elevation, by his possessing all the qualifications of a General of army, being a man of conduct as well as personal prowess. His next neighbour was the Radja S8r8dj-mull, the eye and the shining taper of the Djatt tribe; a Prince who rendered himself famous by his good manners and civil deportment, as well as by his conquests, and his superior knowledge in the arts of Government: qualifications in which he had not then, and never has had since, his equal amongst the Hindoo Princes. He had raised or repaired four fortresses in his dominions in such a manner<sup>(27)</sup>, that no Indian Power could pretend to take them by a siege, and he had stored them with such quantities of ammunition, provisions, and necessaries, that the garrison, for

Accounts  
of S8r8dj-  
mull, the Djatt  
Prince, a man  
of singular  
abilities.

(27) Comir and Dig, fortresses of which wonders are reported, were two of those strongholds of his; Bellem-gur was another. The ramparts, and of course the ditch, of Dig were of such dimensions as would astonish an European Engineer.

years together, would not have wanted anything from abroad. So that if we were to make a description of their fortifications, or an enumeration of their means of defence, we would be found to have wrote a book, and to have involved ourselves in a complete volume. In one word, if we except a certain number of famous fortresses in India, which are still more indebted to Nature than to Art, there was nothing in his time that could stand in comparison with those four castles of his, especially in the quantity and quality of the stores. He had in his stables twelve thousand horses, mounted by so many picked men, amongst whom he had himself introduced an exercise of firing at a mark on horse-back, and then wheeling round in order to load under shelter; and these men had by continual and daily practice become so expeditious and so dangerous marksmen, and withal so expert in their evolutions, that there were no troops in India that could pretend to face them in the field. Nor was it thought possible for any Indian Prince to wage war against such a Prince with any prospect of advantage. Many a time did the Marhattas, and many a time did the Abdalies, invade his country. In such a case he never failed to retire into his fortresses with his people, and to bid defiance to these invaders; nor did he ever pay any contributions to any of them. And it was with such a variety of military talents he had already vigorously supported his character in his many engagements with the Afghans and the Rohillahs, when he went to Ab8lmans8r-qhan's assistance. He constantly beat the one and the other, and always came off victorious. Insomuch that no less a man than such a Vezir thought proper to apply for his succour, and always found it an effectual one. But S8r8dj-mull was likewise very ambitious and restless; and, as his zeminary and dominions stretched in the very neighbourhood of Shah-djehan-abad, he was eternally bent on expelling his neighbours, and on taking possession of their lands. Such a conduct could not but excite perpetual disputes between Nedjib-ed-döwlah and him; so that they looked with an evil eye at each other like two men inclined to come to blows together on the first occasion. It may be even said that Nedjib-ed-döwlah was uneasy at his power and character, and that he concealed his inquietude thereon. For there was no General and no Prince in India that

He discip-  
lines a body  
of cavalry  
after a method  
of his own.

would choose to risk a war against him; an assertion proved beyond doubt by the effectual assistance which he gave in person to Ab8l-mans8r-qhan in his wars with Mahmed-qhan-bangash and the Afghans; and afterwards by the superiority with which he always fought the Marhattas, rendering himself at all times respectable, not only to the Vezir Umad-el-mulk and to Zulficar-djung, but to the Abdalies themselves. This is so far true that Ab8l-mans8r-qhan's successes against the Afghans are in a great measure attributed to the Djatt Prince's assistance. Nevertheless as his days were counted, and his last moment was come, all these fortifications, all these excellent troops, and all this formidable character of his, availed nothing, and he was slain in an inconsiderable skirmish.

He is slain.

A Colony of Bal8ches had settled themselves for some time in the Districts of Feroh-nugur, where in the reign of Mahmed-shah an extraordinary man had appeared amongst them. This was one Camcar-qhan, a man who had good luck enough to acquire a character, and also influence enough to obtain the Fodjday of the Gurd, that is of the rounds about the Capital and its environs. Several times he had been entrusted with the command of Panip8t, and some other Districts, where he had found means to bring to order and submission that whole territory, which was full of refractory, ungovernable people; and this conduct had drawn the applause of the Minister who in general left him in possession of both his office and his conquests. One of his Officers, named Bahadyr-qhan, who had raised his character during his master's life, had recommended himself so well to the Minister Umad-el-mulk, as to obtain the Fodjday of Soharen-p8r, from whence he was re-called to his assistance, on the war breaking out between Ahmed-shah, the Emperor of Hindostan, and his then Vezir, Ab8l-mans8r-qhan; in which expedition he assisted his protector so well, that he was thought worthy of the highest dignities, being promoted to the grade of seven thousand horse, with the insigné of the Mahi or Fish. But a peace having been concluded, and Umad-el-mulk having come to an agreement with Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, this Bal8ch, now a man of great character and eminent dignity, retired to a spot at twelve cosses distance from the Capital, where he raised a fort and a town which he called Bahadyr-p8r, after his own name, making

it his residence, as well as that of his family ; so that in process of time it came to be known under the name of Bahadur-gur. Meanwhile his master, Camcar-qhan, dying soon after, dissensions arose between his children and his Commanders ; of which S8r8dj-mull, the Djatt, availed himself to fall upon the Bal8ch Colony, and to make himself master of Revari and Feroh-nugur, of which he kept possession. He wanted also to render himself master of Bahadyr-gur ; when the Bal8ch thinking himself an unequal match for such an aggressor, applied to Nedjib-ed-dowlah for assistance, and spoke vigorously on the impropriety of neglecting his protection. The remonstrance had little effect ; and the Djatt Prince, finding from this cautious behaviour of Nedjib-ed-dowlah that he was afraid of a war, became the more daring, and he requested the Fodjday of the environs of Shah-djehan-abad, called the Fodjday of the Gurd or Circuit, and that of Carvar. Nedjib-ed-dowlah unwilling to see matters come to a rupture, sent him a person of consequence, called Yac8b-qhan, a brother of the Abdali-king's Vezir, and who had sometimes commanded in Shah-djehan-abad, as Governor-General. The instructions to this envoy were to endeavour, by mild words, to bring matters to a pacification, so as to smother the seeds of tumult and war. The envoy had brought with him the Radja Dilir-sing the Catri, as his associate, and two pieces of M8ltan-chintz, of exquisite beauty(28), as a present ; and these being elegantly painted in those favourite colours of the Gentoos, yellow and pink, proved a present exceedingly welcome to S8r8dj-mull, who ordered their being made into a Djammah or Gown for his person, immediately. The conference being

(28) The Europeans who cannot believe that there are in India plain red<sup>a</sup> cotton handkerchiefs of five or six Crowns a piece, and Mulmuls of a hundred and two hundred, will never be brought to believe that there are Chintz or Callicoes of M8ltan, of an admirable fineness and painting, that form Gowns and Djammahs of four hundred Crowns a piece. They are of so exquisite a fineness that the two pieces are brought always in the Chonga of a Bamboo, that is, in the empty space contained in a bit of that reed between two knots. The Turband and Girdle are brought in another ; and we have seen several such Poshaes, worth eight hundred Rupees and more. The Pos hac implies the Turband and Girdle, with two pieces of ten yards each, for the Djammah. A Djammah of Shau! would not cost much more, in these days. The Chonga is a cylinder of about one foot or more in length, and two or three inches diameter, more or less.

interrupted by this incident, Yac8b-qhan rose, and in taking his leave, he said : “*My Lord Radja, I hope you shall not resolve upon anything, as I shall come again to-morrow.*” S8r8dj-mull answered, that if he came for a pacification only, he had better not come at all. “*By all means,*” added he, “*do not come.*” The negotiation ending there, Yac8b-qhan returned with one Kerem-ollah, a faithful servant which Nedjib-ed-dowlah had given him, and being arrived in this Minister’s presence, he commenced discoursing on the possibility of bringing matters to a pacification by fair words and patience. My Lord, interrupted Kerem-ollah, “*If there is the least spark of honor left in your breast, you shall come to war immediately; there is no other remedy, and no other party. And this is the result of the whole embassy.*” Nedjib-ed-dowlah, turning towards him, answered: “*True, and I hope to do for this uncircumcised.*” After saying so much, he sent for his sons, Afzyl-qhan, Sultan-qhan, and Zabetah-qhan, and ordered them to keep themselves in readiness to cross the Djumnah to-morrow, at Rhadj-ghat; he also directed several Commanders of his, then present, to attend with their troops. These were Saadet-qhan, Sadyc-qhan, Man-qhan, and Mahmed-qhan-bangash, with some others. “*You must cross over early to-morrow,*” said Nedjib-ed-dowlah, “*and fight this proud uncircumcised.*” And they prepared themselves accordingly; but the distance being so small, S8r8dj-mull was beforehand with them, and at the head of his troops, he had already crossed the little river Heniden, and commenced intrenching himself on its banks over against the ford of the Djumnah. Nedjib-ed-dowlah, prevented by this manœuvre, advanced by the Gandj or Mart of Shah-dera, of which he took possession; but which he left behind him, as a good post to secure his rear. After which he ordered Afzol-qhan, his eldest son, to charge at the head of his vanguard, and the engagement commenced directly. S8r8dj-mull had placed apart from his army a body of ten thousand of those horse mounted and disciplined after his own method, and anxious to determine on what part of the enemy they should fall first, he quitted their ranks, and advancing between the two armies, with a small number of friends, of which Kelim-ollah-qhan, son to Yahya-qhan, his Monsky or Secretary, was one, he was galloping up and down, to examine the field of

War be-  
tween Nedjib-  
ed-dowlah  
and S8r8dj-  
mull.

## THE SËIR

32

battle, and to make his choice, after which he stopped awhile to make his considerations. Whilst he was thus standing, there passed by him some of Afzol-qhan's troopers, who having been beaten by Mansaram the Djatt, who commanded S8r8dj-mull's vanguard, were flying by troops one after another. The few people that were with S8r8dj-mull, represented the impropriety of his remaining so near the enemy with only a few friends about his person ; and Kelim-ollah-qhan, with Mirza-séif-ollah, respectfully insisted on his returning. He paid no attention to what they said, and seemed intent only on considering the enemy's motions. They both renewed their instances, and he gave no answer ; but sending for another horse, he mounted, and stood in the same place. Whilst he was mounting, it happened that Sëyd Mahmed-qhan, Bal8ch, better known under the name of Sëyd8, was just flying close by him with about forty or fifty troopers ; when one of these turning about recollected S8r8dj-mull's features, and advancing to Sëyd8, he cried, *That the man he was seeing there alone with a few men, was no other than S8r8dj-mull himself.* "I know him well," said the man ; "shall we miss such an opportunity ? If we do, we shall never see it again." Sëyd8 hearing these words, turned about and fell upon S8r8dj-mull ; and one of his men, singling the Djatt Prince, smote him with his sabre, and cut off one of his arms, which by-the-bye was maimed and actually entangled. Whilst the arm was falling off, two other men rushed together upon him and

S8r8dj-mull soon dispatched him, as well as Mirza-séif-ollah and Radja Amur-sing, and two or three more. The few remaining, put spurs to their horses, and fled towards their own people. But one of Sëyd8's troopers taking up the severed arm, fixed it on the spear of a standard, and carried it to Nedjib-ed-dowlah. The latter could not believe it to be S8r8dj-mull's, and continued doubting of it for two whole days together. But it was past doubt in the Djatt army, which had retreated with still a formidable countenance. The second day Nedjib-ed-dowlah having received a visit from Yac8b-qhan, shewed him the arm, and the latter at once affirmed it to be S8r8dj-mull's, not only from the maimed appearance, but also from the sleeve which was on it, and which happened to be of that very Calico of M8ltan which S8r8dj-mull had put on in his presence. After this the death was ascertained,

and it became public. This death is an event *the more extraordinary*, as it had always been observed of *S8r8dj-mull*, that in all his battles he never exposed his person to unnecessary danger, but reserved himself in some eminent spot, from whence he was issuing his orders, often boasting that battles were to be gained by art and conduct much more than by courage and forwardness. But at this time, however, probably because fate had overtaken him, he seemed to have forgotten this caution, and he remained almost alone in that dangerous spot, where at last he was cut down, and where, by his death, he relinquished to Nedjib-ed-döwlah a victory which no one had expected.

He was succeeded by Djevaher-mull, the eldest and most capable of his sons, but who, listening only to sentiments of pride and resentment, quitted the highroad of discernment and common sense by which his father had always distinguished the favorable moment, and sent for a body of Marhattas whom he took into his pay. After which, he besieged the Citadel of Shah-djehan-abad, to which Nedjib-ed-döwlah had retired. The siege lasted forty or fifty days, when the young man, tired of such a tedious work, proposed an accommodation through the mediation of Radja Dilir-sing, and the Marhatta General, Malhar, who agreed that they should give the meeting to each other in the Plain of Qhyzur-abad, where in fact they had an interview, and where the war and troubles were brought to an end. After this treaty, Djevaher-mull took into his pay Somro the Franghi, or European, the same, who after having been raised from an abject state to honours and to power by his master, Mir-cassem-qhan, forgot the high obligations he was under to him, and betrayed him into Shudjah-ed-döwlah's hands, by which he effectually ruined his benefactor and his whole family. Nor did he prove more faithful to his new master; he gave him the slip, and carried away thousands of flint muskets, many field-pieces, and a quantity of artillery, all which had been Mir-cassem-qhan's property. From that day he became independent. It was this man whom Djevaher-mull took into his service. Proud of this junction, and finding himself at the head of vast treasures as well as a numerous army, he attacked Radja Djehi-sing-sevai, successor to Maha-radja Dehiraj, and besieged him in Djehi-nugur. But there at last he met with what he deserved

Dissensions  
in his family.

for his perpetual encroachments, and quarrelsome disposition ; for although he had the advantage of an army disciplined by his father, and a good artillery served by Somro, he was shamefully beaten by the Radjp8ts, and obliged to return with his full measure of shame and loss. But no sooner was he arrived in his own country, than he put to death a number of persons that had been for years together in his father's service, and some of them in his favour. After all these executions he put one Häider, a Chopdar of his own, at the head of his affairs and of his army ; a measure that lost him the hearts of his troops, and shocked his Commanders to such a degree, that one of them resolved to fall upon him and to put him to death. The man having found a favourable moment, killed him upon his very Mesned. He was succeeded by Rão Ratan-chund, one of S8r8dj-muli's sons. This Prince happening to be impotent, desired nothing so much as virile powers, and on that account he listened to the suggestions of a certain Bäyraghi, or Attit-faky, who pretending himself skilled in Alchemy, obtained from his credulity several sums of money. When the impostor saw himself pressed for the remedy in question, he found no other way of extricating himself than that of killing his patient. Under pretence, therefore, of wanting to be alone with him in a retired place, he fell upon the Prince and killed him ; and after such an execution he was making the best of his way out of the Palace, when he was stopped and put to death in his turn. Rão Ratan-chund was succeeded by his brother, Nevol-sing ; but a younger brother of his, by name Rendjit, having gained the favour of one Hansia(29), one of his father's concubines, took possession of the Fortress of Dig, and of all the treasures and stores hoarded up there ; by which revolution so many new dissensions and troubles arose in the country, that the principality seemed dismembered ; and that formidable power, raised with so much policy and valour by his father, was entirely stripped of its energy, and reduced to its original insignificancy.

Good character of Nedjib-ed-döwlah.

Nedjib-ed-döwlah's power, on the contrary, rose to the utmost height. He became absolute in Shah-djehan-abad. He was himself a man of merit, and although an Afghan, (for after all, the Rohillahs are only the best of that race) he was attached

(29) Hansia signifies the smiling.

to the rules of justice and equity, wished well to every one, and studied the repose and welfare of the people of God. But almost all his followers, or even all of them, were Rohillahs; and after all, the Rohillahs are but the best of a race of men, in whose blood it would be difficult to find one or two single individuals endowed with good nature, and with sentiments of equity. In one word, they were Afghans, and that unbridled soldiery exerted upon the inhabitants of the Capital, most of whom were gentlemen of character or noblemen of ancient race, such violences and such extortions, and they invented such new ways of tormenting them, that nothing like is to be imagined, nor is there mentioning those violences with any decency, or even to any purpose. The sufferers have suffered, and past is what is past. Nor did these abominations cease until Nedjib-ed-dowlah himself fell sick, and thinking the climate of the Capital unfavourable for his distemper, he repaired to Nedjib-gur, where he suffered the pains of a lingering sickness that seemed to have no end. At last he submitted to the inexorable Tyrant from whom there is no release, and died in a bed in which he had languished for years together. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Zabeta-qhan, the only one amongst them that resembled his father, and seemed to have inherited part of his valuable qualifications. This Prince, for a length of time, bore an absolute sway in Shah-djehan-abad, where he not only gave a general satisfaction by his personal behaviour, but where he applied himself, more than his father had done, in repressing his Rohillahs, and in bringing them under some controul. Some malevolent people having found means to excite discontents, and an open revolt amongst his brothers, he beat them all in the field, but took no other revenge than that of assigning lands and a proper revenue to each of them, as if he had been intent only on gaining their affections. At last he had a quarrel with the Marhattas, and we shall see in the sequel the consequences it produced, as soon as we shall have cast a view on Shah-aalem's person and Court.

We have mentioned that Aaly-goher, since called Shah-aalem, had chosen his residence in Ilah-abad. Naturally low-minded, and of a turn of genius that wanted both acuteness and vigor, he could not live without being governed by some one

Very bad  
one of his  
countrymen.

His death.

Is succeed-  
ed by his son,  
Zabeta-qhan,  
a Prince of  
good char-  
acter.

of his people, and he passed his time in that city, governed by Munnir-ed-döwlah, his Minister, but always profoundly submissive to the pleasure of the English Commanders stationed there. Nevertheless, he of himself became sick of such a submissive inactive life, and being desirous of living in the Palace of Shah-djehan-abad, and of shewing himself with the pomp of an Emperor to the inhabitants of that Capital, he availed himself of Nedjib-ed-döwlah's death to take his final resolution on that subject; and he commenced looking out for such persons as might assist and support him, when once in the Capital. Numbers of discontented people in that mighty city repined at the prevalence of the Afghan administration, under which no office was given to any but to a Rohillah, and they were this long while brooding upon their own discontents. All these being happy to hear of a Prince of such a ductile temper, took care to applaud his resolution, and to inform him that the Marhattas were the only people in the world capable of promoting his designs.

With this view Sëif-eddin-mahomed-qhan, brother to Akybet-mahm8d-qhan, the Cashmirian, set out for Decan, where he entered into a treaty with the Marhatta rulers, digested into many articles, and confirmed by reciprocal oaths and protestations. After having succeeded so happily in his negotiation he returned to Ilah-abad, where he presented letters from them, purporting their attachment to the Imperial cause, and their readiness to support its interest. Such overtures engaged the Emperor to declare his

Opposed by  
the English,  
and by his  
Ministers.

resolution publicly, but it was opposed by his Minister, Munnir-ed-döwlah, and then by the English, and lastly by Shudjah-ed-döwlah, who all represented the inconveniences and dangers to which his design was liable. The Prince was immovable; he said that his final resolution was taken, and that he could live no longer in Ilah-abad. The English, seeing him bent on following his own inclination, reluctantly gave their consent; but

Parts wil-  
lingly with the  
dominions of  
Ilah-abad and  
C8rrah.

Munnir-ed-döwlah refused to follow him. He had already made a private treaty with the English, by taking from them a lease of the revenues of the Provinces of C8rrah and Ilah-abad, and they had rewarded his attachment by presenting him with a Djaghir or appanage of one lac of rupees, which they had assigned upon the product of Mahin-poor, and likewise upon Shah-djehan-poor and Arvel; all dependencies of the Province of Bahar and

Azim-abad. That Minister continued in the government of the two Provinces of Ilah-abad and C8rrah, until about one year after this transaction, when the Navvab Djeladet-djung Bahadyr(30), the Governor Mr. Hushtin, came to Banares, where he entered into a treaty with Shudjah-ed-döwlah, by which this Prince took upon himself the government of those two provinces; and then Munnir-ed-dowlah paid exactly the balances due by him, but falling sick at that very time, he winged his flight towards eternity. His body was brought to Azim-abad, and buried in a Mausoleum, which he had prepared for himself. It was in a corner of Assed-ollah-qhan's house, a palace which he had purchased, and which had then fallen to the share of Kerim-c8ly-qhan, his eldest son. May God Almighty's forgiveness rest upon him!

As to Mirza-nedjef-qhan, he followed the Emperor. Shudjah-ed-dowlah accompanied him for several days likewise, and omitted nothing that could dissuade him from his design, but in vain. Whilst they were travelling by Feroh-abad, Ahmed-qhan-bangash, Sovereign of that city, whose beneficent turn of mind had engaged him to grant suitable pensions to a number of decayed noblemen and gentlemen of the Capital, deprived of their revenues, and who besides had approved himself the declared protector of the poor and distressed, came to depart this life. He answered his Lord's call by saying, "*I am ready, my Lord*(31)," and quitting this fragile world, he repaired to the celestial mansions. Shah-aalem, on the very first news of his death, marched close to the walls of Feroh-abad, and in compliance with that shocking custom of the Babrian Princes, by which they become universal heirs to all their officers, he sharpened his teeth, and set them against the movable estate of the deceased Prince. The relations observing how much he seemed bent on getting the whole of it, and that he had encamped at the very gates of Feroh-abad for that

Continues  
his journey.

(30) These words signify the "Impetuous in War."

(31) *Labeic, Allabooma, Lebeic.* These words, after a profession of faith, are always pronounced by all dying men, or by men in great danger; they are also pronounced aloud by thousands at a time at the Pilgrimage of Mecca, where all Pilgrims coming to ask pardon of their sins, to die to their late lives and to commence new ones, put themselves in an Ehram or winding-sheet, and cry aloud those tremendous words.

**Seizes by the way on a rich estate.**

very purpose, availed themselves of Shudjah-ed-dowlah's mediation, and they engaged him to accept from Muzafer-djung, the deceased's eldest son, a certain sum of money, in lieu of all his pretensions. Shah-aalem having carried his point, and taken up such a booty, continued his journey to the Capital, and dismissed Shudjah-ed-dowlah to his own dominions. The latter shewed every mark of esteem and regard to Muzafer-djung, and sent his own son to condole with him on his father's death; after which he returned to his own Capital, where he applied himself closely to his own affairs, and where he continued to befriend the sons of Mahmed-ghan-bangash, with as much regard and attention as if they had been committed to his care.

We have said that an application had been made to the Marhattas of Decan on the part of Shah-aalem. Few of them had escaped from the edge of the Abdalie's sabre, and those that had so much good luck, were rather skulking than living in those distant parts, when their hopes were revived by his embassy. Concluding that, under pretence of assisting Shah-aalem, they would in fact establish their own power and regain the footing they had lost in Hindostan, they prepared forces and set out for the Capital. Whilst they were on their march, Zabeta-ghan thought it high time to provide for his own safety. Sensible of the cordial enmity they had borne to his father, and of course to his whole family, he quitted his own Capital, and repaired to Soharen-p8r-b8riah, and to Nedjib-gur, a country which had been acquired long ago by his father, who had it fortified to his mind. There he took up his residence, strengthened his post, and prepared himself for a vigorous defence. By this time the Marhattas were arrived about the Capital of the Empire, where they took possession of every District in the environs, without meddling, however, with the Prince Djuvan-baqht, who was shut up within the walls of the citadel, with the bare name of Sovereign. Immediately after, they also sent a detachment to sack the country of Zabeta-ghan. The Emperor, meanwhile, being arrived, took up his abode in the Imperial Palace within the citadel. He had been met on the road by Abdol-ahed-ghan, the Cashmirian, son to Abdol-medjid-ghan, a nobleman, who being exceedingly wary, artful, and capable of adapting himself to the complexion of the times, had found means to live upon

**Arrives in his Capital.**

good terms with every one, and had been greatly considered both by Nedjib-ed-döwlah and by his son, Zabeta-qhan. He was now received with great distinction by Shah-aalem, and soon became a favourite with him, to the great regret of Seïf-eddin-mahmed-qhan, who, having been at all the trouble and expense of the voyage to Decan, and of the whole negotiation with the Marhattas, found now that he had missed his aim, and was totally neglected. Abdol-ahed-qhar, engrossing now the Imperial mind, was soon decorated with the titles of "The Glorious of the State, the Lord of the Age, my Valiant son, the "Hero Ever Victorious in War (32)," and he became the Prime Minister ; whilst the Emperor retired within the Imperial Seraglio, which he had so much longed to see, plunged himself into all kinds of pleasures and delicacies, and remained plunged in them. But Mirza-nedjef-qhan, the hero of his time, being of too active a mind to addict himself to such a life, now commenced to aspire to the highest dignities and rank, and to conceive that nothing was above the reach of his valor. He was incessantly occupied in preparing the necessities of war, and in assembling as many brave adventurers as he could attach to his own person.

By this time the Marhattas, after sacking and ruining Zabeta-qhan's country, were returned to the neighbourhood of Shah-djehan-abad, where not content with setting an exorbitant price on their past services, they had become quite overbearing and insolent. The Emperor applied to Nedjef-qhan for assistance, and this officer, although so inferior and unprepared, thought himself equal to the task of chastising such powerful enemies ; and with that intention he marched out of the city walls and encamped in the suburbs. The next day, a skirmish took place, and was succeeded by many others, in which, notwithstanding his small numbers, he always came off victorious. But whilst he was fighting abroad, his enemies, amongst which Abdol-ahed-qhan, Hyssam-eddin-qhan, and Bahadyr-qhan cut so

Falls out  
with the Mar-  
hattas.

(32) Mudjed-ed-döwlah, Qhan-zeman, Furzend-qhan-bahadyr, Behram-djung : all these titles (and this is to be observed once for all) had two hundred years ago always a reference to the man's character, as those of Duke, Count, and Marquis had in Europe to the office of the incumbent. Now both the one and the other are become mere titles of rank, and no more.

conspicuous a figure, were actually undermining his influence at home. Those men who had all along fawned to him, although in reality they could not bear his presence, (and there is a known adage, that cowards and braves never agree together) finding now that the field was left open by his absence, resolved to disappoint his views by making a peace with the Marhattas, as the only method to come at Nedjef-qhan, and to undermine a power which his personal prowess had rendered formidable. The most ardent in this scheme was that vile Hyssam-eddin-qhan, who was the man most in favor with the Emperor, and who could not bear so much as Nedjef-qhan's presence. Without giving that General the least notice of the negotiation set on foot, he engaged the Emperor to enter into a treaty with the Marhattas; and the latter, who were thoroughly sensible that this General was the only man of merit at Court, and the only opposer they had to dread, admitted whatever conditions and whatever terms were proposed to them; perfectly satisfied that Nedjef-qhan being once put out of the way, it would be an easy matter to manage and subdue a pusillanimous Prince, supported by a set of timorous, low-minded Ministers. They, therefore, conformed themselves to the circumstances, and subscribed to whatever was requested. After this treaty of peace, the guards that were upon the towers and ramparts, and at the gates of the city, received orders to admit the Marhattas, and these being set open, those infidels marched into the city, and took up their quarters everywhere; after which their Commanders went to the citadel, and paid their respects to the imperial presence.

*Who is himself in great danger from Court intrigues.*

Mirza-nedjef-qhan hearing of this pacification, was astonished and confounded; but finding that all was over, he returned within the city himself, and took up his abode in his own house, where he was suddenly assaulted by a demand which he had never so much as suspected. The Emperor, eternally obsessed by his three favourites, who hated Nedjef-qhan heartily, and intirely governed by Hyssam-eddin-qhan, who was the leader amongst them, and could not bear to be eclipsed by so superior a character, sent the Marhattas word, that he had assigned upon Nedjef-qhan the sum of money promised them, and that they were therefore to get it from him by enforcing payment. All

Is vigorously  
supported by  
his General,  
Nedjef-qhan.

this affair was conducted by that vile Hyssam-eddin-qhan, who served his two associates by serving his own aversion to that hero : an aversion which proved the main hinge of all his actions, although he was too timorous to betray any signs of it. He undertook to ruin him intirely by filling the ears and minds of the Marhatta Commanders with reports that could not but excite enmity, and nourish aversion and hatred. In one word, he gave them to understand that Nedjef-qhan, by his turn of mind equally ambitious and restless, was the only author of the dissensions that had taken place between the Emperor and them ; and that this would be the case for ever, so long as that General should remain alive. The Marhatta Commander, incensed by all these instigations, sent a threatening message to Nedjef-qhan, requiring him to provide for the sum assigned upon him by the Emperor ; and strange as seemed this message, the imbecile Monarch had the weakness to suggest almost every word of it. That brave man who saw now that his life was aimed at, resolved to sacrifice it to his honour ; he refused to submit to oppression and infamy, and this resolution of his was announced by a vigorous answer. Some days were spent in messages and answers, and in sending and receiving envoys, a delay of which Mirza-nedjef-qhan availed himself to prepare for his defence. With about four hundred men, that had zealously remained attached to his cause, he resolved to repel force by force, and to perish if necessary, but not without selling his life to the highest bidder. The Marhatta General, who knew Nedjef-qhan to be a man of undaunted resolution, finding that he was resolved to shed his blood as well as that of others, became sensible at the same time that it was impossible that a soldier of fortune, like him, should really be worth so much money, as his accusers pretended. He rightly concluded that his insisting upon such a payment would end in much blood-shed, and in the death of thousands of brave men that must be necessarily sacrificed before a hand could be laid upon him. He, therefore, became very cool in this undertaking, being convinced, besides, that the death of so brave a man could never redound to his honour, but would remain an eternal stain on his own character, which henceforward might become an object of detestation and contempt amongst both friends and foes. Resolved, therefore, to see the bottom of this dark affair, and to live upon

some terms with that General, he sent him word that he wished to have a conference with him, at the same time accompanying the message with a safe conduct in due form.

Nedjef-qhan consented, and putting himself at the head of his zealous followers, all armed as well as himself, he went to the Marhatta camp.

Tagodji, for such was the Marhatta General's name, on descrying him from afar, came out of the paling of his tent, and saw him alight; after which he embraced him with the utmost regard, as an equal, and taking him by the hand, he conducted him within the tent, where he made him sit with himself upon his own Mesned. He then apologised for the message he had sent, and professed a high regard for his person. At the end of the visit, he made him a present of elephants, war-horses, precious stuffs, arms, jewels, and gems of great value, and he dismissed him with every demonstration of regard and esteem.

This visit, having substituted acquaintance and amity for distance and distrust, produced in its consequences a reconciliation between the Emperor and Nedjef-qhan. In a conference before that Prince, it was resolved to attack Zabeta-qhan in his own country, and to make an end of him by re-annexing all those districts to the Crown. After this the Emperor, with

Regains the confidence of the Emperor.

Nedjef-qhan and the Marhattas, departed together from the Capital. But Zabeta-qhan, informed of such a combination, did not think himself a match for it in the field, and sending therefore his family and consort, with all the persons of his father's

Who resolves to strip the Rohillas of their usurped territories.

family, on the other side of the Ganga, he resolved to make a stand on this side, having thrown his army in the Fortress of Ghous-gur and the intrenched camp under Sukur-tal. He also sent one of his brothers with a detachment on the Rohillah-side of the Ganga to secure his convoys. Whilst he was waiting for the enemy, Mirza-nedjef-qhan and the Marhattas had already taken leave of the Emperor at the second stage from the Capital, and they had marched into the enemy's country, where they encircled the camp at Sukur-tal. A number of skirmishes taking place, Zabeta-qhan was not pleased with his situation, and hearing at the same time that the Ganga had become fordable in many places, he sent a message to his friends on the other side of the water, that is to Hafyz-rahment and the children of Doondy-qhan, as well as to Faiz-ollah-qhan, son to Aaly-mahmed-qhan,

But in the end comes out of them gloriously.

Rohillah. The purport of his representation was this : " That " the Marhattas not being informed yet of the river's having " become fordable, they, his brethren, might still come down " in force, cover their several countries, secure thereby his own " dominions, and insure likewise his rear and his convoys. " That if they retarded marching to the banks of the river, and " that meanwhile the enemy should get an information of some " ford, he would not fail to cross over, to ravage their country, " and to intercept his convoys; in which case he would himself " become an easy prey, and their own turn would follow imme- " diately, after which all would be involved in one common ruin. " Conceive, then, the consequences of a few days' delay, and " act accordingly."

The Rohillah Princes, convinced of the truth of such a remonstrance, became sensible of their own dangers, and every one having assembled his troops, marched down to the banks of the Ganga. Zabeta-qhan, to facilitate a communication, threw a bridge of boats upon the river, and thereby rendered the access of provisions and forage easy, and of little expense ; and he intended to defend to the last the fort and camp of Sukur-tal. The Rohillah Princes likewise crossed the river, paid a visit to Zabeta-qhan, and a consultation having been held amongst them, it was resolved that such Generals as were already arrived, should extend their troops all along the shores for twenty and thirty cosses together, against the stream, so as to secure all the fords above Sukur-tal ; and that such as were coming successively, should take post at those fords which were below Sukur-tal, in the same extent of country. This manœuvre, by discovering a number of fords to the enemy, of which they did not entertain even a suspicion, put them upon looking out for others. Upon examination, it was found that the river was fordable almost everywhere, and that the crossing over would prove easy. After this discovery they made no movement for two or three days, their intention being to lull the Rohillahs to sleep ; and then Nedjef-qhan and the Marhatta General mounting together advanced against the current, as if to look out for a ford, and as they went on, they passed by several, which they all found guarded. But the guards thinking that the enemy intended to cross over much higher than their posts, became

Nedjef-qhan crosses the Ganga, and overcomes the Rohillas.

negligent in their encampment, and most of them believing the enemy gone some days' journey farther, quitted their posts, and went over to the other encampments to see their friends. By this manœuvre, some posts were left without either guard or defence, and the Marhattas, who kept an attentive eye everywhere, being informed of this, turned bridle at once and came back on a full gallop at one of the fords which they had passed, and which they now found unguarded. Without giving the enemy time to recover from their neglect and surprise, they pushed to the middle of the water, and were crossing over. The brave Mirza-nedjef-qhan commanded the forlorn hope, and he pushed through the water vigorously, whilst the Marhattas were shewing themselves at another ford. The Rohillah General who commanded there, forced by these circumstances, quitted his post with the few men he found at hand, marched to oppose Nedjef-qhan, and took post on an eminence. This being seen by the neighbouring Commanders, two of them flew to his assistance, and joining the third, they commenced a fire of musketry and rockets upon the enemy. Mirza-nedjef-qhan, who was preceded by some Zemberecs(33), ordered that kind of artillery to stand in the middle of the water, and to fire on the eminence; and he was so well served by fortune, that the very first discharge killed outright the three Rohillah Commanders; and here it must be recollectcd that the Rohillahs are a race exceeding covetous, little susceptible of controul, and of such a temper as to prove ungovernable on the sight of ever so little plunder. The moment they saw their three Commanders slain, they commenced plundering each other immediately; and a scene of confusion, and wounding and slaughtering taking place, they rushed furiously against each other, lost sight of every other object, and thought only of plunder and booty. Luckily for them that Mirza-nedjef-qhan and the Marhattas, satisfied for that day with the success of their trial, had returned to their camp.

---

(33) Zemberecs are long swivels, of one or two pounds ball. Two of them are carried fastened upon the saddle of a camel, and when they are to be brought into play, the camel is, as usual, made to kneel on the ground, but to prevent his rising, each leg is fastened, bent as it is, with cord, and the animal remains immovable.

But meanwhile the report spreading on the other side of the water, that the Marhattas had crossed over and slain three Rohillah Generals, a panic seized the troops of Zabeta-qhan ; and as they had already been severely handled by the Marhattas in their unfortunate stand against Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, they took fright and dispersed. Without seeing an enemy or even a couched spear, or a drawn sabre, they all fled from their camp, but retained still so much of the Rohillah in their very flight, as to fall mercilessly upon each other, and to make booty of whatsoever they could lay their hands upon. This intelligence being carried to the garrison placed by Zabeta-qhan within Sukur-tal, the contagion seized them also, and they fell a plundering and killing each other ; nor would they have forboreen plundering Zabeta-qhan's palace likewise, had they not been overawed by his presence as well as by a small number of his relations and kinsmen who put themselves upon their defence. After this fine performance, they set open the gates, and dispersed, every one intent solely on securing what booty he had made. Zabeta-qhan, confounded at such a reverse of fortune, sent word to Fateh-qhan to come over, as he wanted to speak to him immediately. This Fateh-qhan was a Rohillah Chieftain, who had come to his assistance of his own accord, and had encamped over against Sukur-tal. Fateh-qhan was thunderstruck with the general panic and desertion. He proposed to Zabeta-qhan to remain in the Fort as late as the dusk of the evening, and then to cross over to his camp, with what troops he could collect ; after which they had no other party left than that of engaging for once the Marhattas in the field, and trying what fortune might produce in their behalf. Fateh-qhan being returned to his own camp, assembled his officers and relations, and imparted his resolution to them. But the effect made by his harangue is hardly credible. No sooner did these men hear of what had happened on both sides of the water, than they were seized themselves with a panic resembling a contagion, and quitting the assembly, they went home, collected their baggage, and dispersed every one his own way ; and within an hour's time no trace of that body of troops could be discovered all over the plain. Fateh-qhan without being dismayed, turned to his son, and bid him go over with some of the few troopers that remained, to bring away his brother who had been to see

The Rohillas plunder each other and disperse.

Strong intrenchments of Sukur-tal abandoned by them.

Zabeta-qhan. The young man mounted, with some horsemen, but was hardly arrived at the bridge, when the contagion seized his followers also, who fell upon their Lord and commenced stripping him. The young man returned without a turbant, and with his clothes torn upon his back. Fateh-qhan, finding that his case was desperate and past remedy, assembled a few troopers and servants, and putting himself at their head, he fled, resolved to retire to some place of safety. By the way, he alighted in a populous town ; but here one of his men chancing to have a dispute with a grain merchant, the Rohillahs, always true to their national genius, went behind his shop, and set it on fire ; and the fire communicating from near to near, consumed not only all the cahuts, but even the brick-houses and other soild buildings in the neighbourhood so effectually, that there did not remain so much as a trace of the town. A person of character, who was then with Fateh-qhan, used to recount that the multitude of those that fled, did not fall short of ten thousand horse and foot. And as they were passing by a field of Bid-andjir trees(34) that were now and then waving with the wind, that whole multitude stopped short, remained silent, and trembled in all its limbs, having taken the above field for a body of Marhatta spear men ; nor did they recover their senses, but after some light horse had gone near and made their report ; then only did those ten thousand armed men find courage enough to go on with their flight. Meanwhile Nedjef-qhan and the Marhattas finding no enemy in the field, marched into the country of Zabeta-qhan, and drew smoke from the breasts of his relations, family, and consorts, as well as from all the inhabitants. The Rohillah Prince, unable to make the least resistance, fled and took shelter in Shudjah-ed-dowlah's country. The latter consented to become a mediator between the children of Hafyz-rahmet and the other Afghans on one hand, and Nedjef-qhan and the Marhattas, on the other. Luckily for the Afghans that great dissensions having at this very time arisen amongst the Marhattas themselves, those that were now at war with the Rohillahs received orders from P8nah to repair in all speed to Decan. Proposals of a pacification coming at such a conjuncture from Shudjah-ed-dowlah, became

(34) Fig-willow : a strange compound word, for which the author is only accountable.

highly acceptable. A treaty was concluded, and they turned towards Shah-djehan-abad in their way to Decan. Mirza-nedjef-qhan returned with them; but the Marhatta Commanders had during this campaign conceived such a high opinion of his character, that in taking leave of the Emperor, they earnestly recommended him to his attention, and moreover appointed him their own Agent at his Imperial Court.

Nedjef-qhan, now raised very high both in consequence of the opinion the world had conceived of his character, and by the additional weight he derived from the Marhattas' recommendation, turned his thoughts towards the means of rising to the highest honors, and to the summit of power; and as he conceived that it would be good policy to keep fair with the Emperor and his Ministers, he resolved to make conquests in the neighbourhood of the Capital, in countries which seemed to acknowledge the Imperial authority, but where in fact it had not the shadow of power. He therefore asked and obtained the government of several Districts close to the Capital, possessed long ago by the Djatts, and where no officer and no collector from the Emperor had ever dared to shew his face. He afterwards called about his person a number of soldiers of fortune and other resolute men, to whom for the present he could afford but a small pay, but whom he rendered hearty and zealous, by promising them a share in the benefits of his future conquests, and the company of his person in every future danger. Having by these means assembled a good body of forces, he advanced at their head to the frontiers of Djatt country. But the son of S8r8dj-mull, who after having subdued all his brothers, was fully established in his paternal dominions, had been informed of Nedjef-qhan's designs, and was prepared to encounter him in the field. He had a numerous army of Djatts, and was of late reinforced by the whole of Somro's force, which amounted to fifteen or sixteen field-pieces, and six or seven thousand of those foot soldiers called Talinghas(35), and which are armed with flint muskets, and accoutred as well as disciplined in the French or European manner. The two armies met in the territory

A peace.  
The Marhattas retire.

Projects  
and conquests  
of Nedjef-  
qhan.

(35) This is an oversight of the author. The Talinghas or sepahis, although armed and disciplined in the European manner, wear the Hindostany travelling dress, but adapted to their new way of life. *Look at the Note 70, Section IX.*

## THE SEIR

of Kevol and Djalisser, close to the nighroad that leads from Achber-abad to the Capital. As Nedjef-qhan's troops were mostly raw soldiers, and this was the first action in which they had been engaged, some of them misbehaved and lagged behind, whilst those that attacked courageously were either slain or wounded. On the other hand, the Djatt cavalry lost some ground, and matters wore a bad aspect even in the Radja's army, when Somro with his field-pieces and his musketry, making his appearance, sent amongst the enemy's ranks such a shower of balls of all sorts, as gave them no time to recover their spirits, and to rally. All Nedjef-qhan's efforts to bring his dismayed troops to the charge proved ineffectual. He was himself wounded in the arm by a musket-ball, which made him lose much blood. But there happening to be at hand a large well(36), surrounded by a lofty rim of bricks, he retired behind it, staunched his blood, wrapped his arm with some linen, and then assembling some cavalry and some men of note that flocked round the well, he put himself at their head and returned to the charge, resolved not to survive a defeat. Those brave men having invoked together the name of God spurred their horses and rushed on a full gallop upon Somro's dressed ranks. It happened by a particular interposition of the Divine assistance that these soldiers, that had hitherto cut so formidable a figure in Hindostan, were broke in an instant, and losing their wonted steadiness, they fled on all sides, with Somro at their head, leaving a full victory to Nedjef-qhan's people. As soon as the Talinghas were perceived flying, whole squadrons of Nedjef-qhan's troops, that had heretofore fled from the field of battle, and had hitherto been mere spectators of the last charge, wheeling at once about, crowded round their General, and having now

---

(36) The Indians have four words to express a well, and of course four kinds of wells. This which served Nedjef-qhan's turn, was of the Baoli kind. These are wells of about twenty or ten feet diameter, with a solid rim four or five feet high, of broad solid masonry, in which have been practised a flight of stairs for getting at the water, and also several niches and resting places for people loaded with a burthen, and also for sickly fatigued people, that want to descend or mount their horses. These wells have likewise an easy flight of stairs that goes from the fields down to the water's edge. There are thousands of such wells, and they are so many works of charity. All have either an adjoining grove, or at least a few fruit-tress; and there is almost always a Brahman that attends and gives water to all comers.

plucked fresh courage, they fell with fury upon both the runaways and upon that part of the Djatt cavalry that stood still to their ground; they mixed pell-mell with them, and gave the greatest part of the Djatt army for food to their famished sabres. A body of these, however, having got clear of the runaways, marched out of the field, with steady pace and a firm countenance, and returned to their homes with safety and honour.

Nedjef-qhan, after this glorious victory, requested of the Emperor the Government of Acber-abad-Agrah. The Emperor, who had never received the least revenue from that province, and who saw even now the Imperial Palace and the Citadel of Acber-abad in the hands of the Djatts, consented to invest him with that nominal Government, and the Ministers, like Hyssam-eddin-qhan and Abdol-ahed-qhan, with their party, who did not love the proximity of the new hero, made haste to send him as ample a patent as he could wish. As that extraordinary man's fortune seemed to have just risen as from a long sleep, and every one of her limbs was glowing with vigour, she soon gave a full existence to that nominal Government of his, and he forced the Citadel of Acber-abad to a surrender. Nedjef-qhan, sensible that his strength consisted in the number and goodness of his troops, and in the attachment of his Commanders, conceived that his situation forbade his thinking of hoarding up money, or of accumulating treasures. He therefore abandoned the whole booty found in the castle to his troops, and contented himself with such a share as had fallen to the lot of any of the Generals of his own army. By putting himself thereby upon an equality with his troops, he endeared his person to such a degree, that he soon found himself at the head of a powerful army, with which he undertook the siege of Dig, a fortress built with so much strength and expense, that it was spoken of all over the world as a wonder of the age. It cost him a siege of fourteen months, but its capture raised his power to a pitch, and so much enhanced his character, that the Emperor thought proper to invest him with the office of "Prince of Princes", vacant by Nedjib-ed-dowlah's demise, and Zabeta-qhan's flight; and he also decorated him with the titles of "The Ever Victorious Two-edged "Sword of the State"(37). Meanwhile the son of Sor8dj-mull,

Beginning  
of Nedjef-  
qhan's fortune

He takes  
Acber-abad-  
Agra.

who had retired to another fortress of his, finding himself unable to stand before the new conqueror, sent to ask a peace; and the latter, unwilling to bring matters to an extremity, and to drive to despair a whole tribe, who although vanquished, might, for want of subsistence, give him a deal of trouble and harass his new conquests, agreed to very moderate terms, that secured the victor's dominions, and gave him an undisputed sway, but left to the vanquished enough to restrain their restlessness from the temptation of exciting troubles. Nedjef-qhan, by such a peace, entirely pacified the Djatts, and solidly established the foundation of a power that henceforward brought him to a par with the greatest Princes of Hindostan, and the most illustrious names existing.

Whilst fortune was raising one man to the skies, she was in that same territory depressing another in the deepest abyss of misery and grief. This was no less a man than Mir-mahmed-cassem-qhan, heretofore Viceroy of Bengal, who having departed this world about this time in that very territory, naturally furnishes a short article to our history. He had retired to the country of the Rohillahs, and having been well received by them, he was this long time availing himself of their protection to repose from the toils he had hitherto endured. But his character sticking close to him everywhere, and his suspicions inclining him to mistrust and ill-use others, his people were tired of living with him, and commenced deserting one after another. Mirza-shemseddin, his faithful friend, died in confinement. Nor was Sandul-aaly-qhan, an eunuch of an approved character and fidelity, much better used. This man, who had been and was still superintendent of his sanctuary, had been in pilgrimage to Mecca, from whence he had repaired to Gohud, on hearing of his master's being there, and he had continued to serve him ever since. Even this man became an object of suspicion, and under pretence that if he had not been worth money he would not have come back from Mecca, he was daily tormented with reproachful expressions. Such a disposition of mind alienated all the hearts to such a degree, that his very menial servants and his slaves quitted him one after another. Himself disgusted with his residence, quitted Ater-chundy in the Rohi-cund, and repaired to the Rana of Gohud's

dominion(38), from whence he went to the country of the Radjp8ts, and at last he fixed himself in a town between Acbarabad and the Capital. There in a little time he departed this life in the utmost poverty and distress, leaving to the world a memorable instance of the instability of human things, and fixing an everlasting stain on Shudjah-ed-dowlah, the author of all the miseries he had undergone.

This last Prince had entered into such solemn treaties with the English rulers, as had established the strongest ties of union, with a community of concerns between them and himself; for they had bound themselves to assist each other in case of an attack by an enemy. However, whilst Nedjef-qhan, with the assistance of the Marhattas, was ruining the Rohillah power, he had thought proper to remain a quiet spectator of the operations of the war; but after that General's departure, he conceived that this was the time to act in his turn, and to give the finishing blow to that inimical nation. As a hatred to that name was hereditary in his family, he forgot the friendship and union that had intervened between him and Saad-ollah-qhan, as well as with Ynaët-qhan, son to Hafyz-rahmet, and he undertook to put an end to the Rohillah domination. Full of these ideas, he applied to Governor Hushtin for his consent to that expedition, and promised a sum of money to the English for their assisting him vigorously. That Governor had no orders from the Company to send troops out of the English dominions, or out of those of Shudjah-ed-dowlah's, for the purpose of making conquests; nor had he their consent for undertaking any new conquests, either on the English account, or on account of Shudjah-ed-dowlah, who was now their vassal. The orders from the Council in England were to assist Shudjah-ed-dowlah with all his might, against any one that should attack his dominions, and likewise

Shudjah-ed-dowlah avails himself of what the Rohillahs had suffered from Nedjef-qhan, to put an end to their domination.

---

(38) He was desired by the Radja to quit his dominions, on hearing that this fugitive had exercised acts of Sovereignty by putting to death some of his dependants, who were detected in an intrigue with his women. Some of these women were whipped, others threw themselves into wells to the number of ten, and his very cousin, Mir-s8pun, now Fateh-aaly-qhan, underwent a flogging, and possibly would have undergone some thing more, had not the Radja rescued the young man from his hands, and ordered him to be set at liberty. He is now in M8r-sh8d-abad, enjoying from the English a pension of fifteen hundred rupees per month.

to call that Prince with all his power to the assistance of the English, should the latter be attacked in their dominions of Bengal and Azimabad. The policy of that mixture of liberty and restraint consisted in this, that as the Rohillahs were a natural barrier to all these dominions, and their country afforded the only easy passes to them from Hindostan, it was expected that those people of course would be obliged to stand upon their own defence, and would oppose, for their own sakes, any invader that should undertake to attack the dominions of the two Allies. Shudjah-ed-dowlah, however, having pointed out to the Governor several advantages that would accrue to both parties from the success of this expedition, prepared himself for war, with a promise of being supported by the English. Nevertheless, with a view to put an end to his disputes with the Rohillahs, or to demonstrate to the world the natural perverseness of their temper, he sent word to Hafyz-rahmet, the principal ruler amongst them, desiring him to remember "How he had come in

"time to the assistance of his nation against the Marhattas, and  
"how he had rescued it effectually from the destruction intended

*Sends a message to the Rohillah Princes.*

"them, by paying in their stead from his own treasury a mighty  
"sum of money, which had saved their country from devasta-  
"tion and ruin ; he added, that all the return made him for his  
"effectual interposition, was only a variety of tergiversations  
"and delays on the repayment of a sum due to him, and which  
"they had not yet thought of providing for. So that matters  
"standing as they were, the Rohillahs must prepare themselves  
"for war, or pay, without delay, the sum advanced for their  
"sakes."

This message did not fail to make great impression on Hafyz-rahmet, who was a man of great sense and much foresight. He sent word to Fateh-ollah-qhan, and to the other children of D8ndy-qhan, as well as to Faiz-ollah-qhan, son to Aaly-mahmed-Rohillah, and even to all the principal men of the Rohillah nation, and informed them that he wished to see them assembled at a certain place, as he had something of importance to impart. When they were assembled, he sent them the following message :—

"Shudjah-ed-dowlah, who has disciplined his troops, and  
"mounted his artillery, in the Frenghi (European) manner, and

" who, besides, is supported by the English power, intends to "attack you, and to make a conquest of your country, as well "as of mine. My opinion is, that we shall never be able to "stand before people that pour a shower of fire in the ranks of "their enemies. Is it not better, then, to avert so great an evil "by repaying him without delay the money promised, and which, "after all, is nothing but his due? For I inform you that we shall "never be able to resist his attack."

Whilst the Rohillah Princes were assembling, Shudjah-ed-dowlah had sent secret assurances to the sons of D8ndy-qhan, "That he had no business with either their family or their dominions, which were on the other side of the Ganga; but "that it was only on condition that they would remain quiet, "without interfering by their assistance to others; else, they "might reckon upon their falling in the same fire that would be "kindled to consume the others." But this message made little impression on them; and those senseless men, instead of listening to Hafyz-rahmet's advice, and paying their share of the money he had so long ago stipulated for them, were, on the contrary, averse to any accommodation; and preferring their money to any other consideration, they were exciting the others to a war. And this was the general opinion of the Rohillah Princes, who being in general young, ignorant, and proud of their bodily strength and valour, preferred war to a payment, and even exhorted the others to reject all thoughts of an accommodation, pretexting their inability to pay, and describing the ruinous state of their country. It was in vain that Hafyz-rahmet was preaching, "That they would never be able to stand before the fire of the Frenghees; that it would produce clouds of smoke out of their breasts, and that of their families; and that they would be obliged to run away from the field of battle, and to lose their characters as soldiers." All that produced no conviction. Doubtless it was because the Rohillahs having been guilty of an infinity of cruelties and extortions towards the inhabitants of Hindostan, it was high time that they should, in their turn, experience to the full all the violences which they had hitherto committed upon others. The time appointed by the Omnipotent Avenger was come; nor was it in their power to retard it by a single moment. Blinded by their own ignorance

The message  
remains un-  
attended to.

and prejudices, those senseless men thought only of taking the field and coming to a battle. Shudjah-ed-dowlah, informed of their obstinacy, put himself at the head of his own victorious troops, and with an artillery equally well served and numerous, he marched into their country, accompanied by the English troops, which were commanded by General Barker, and he commenced ravaging all that tract of ground. Hafyz-rahmet, finding that his countrymen were bent on war, exhorted them at least to assemble betimes, and to march to his assistance with all their forces. He applied especially to the sons of D8ndy-qhan, who put him off with fair promises which they did not intend to fulfil. Some came to rendezvous only with a small force, and some sent only promises of arriving in a few days ; and by this time Shudjah-ed-dowlah had already advanced in the heart of the country, and was close upon Hafyz-rahmet. This Rohillah Prince finding himself hard pressed, resolved to oppose the enemy with what force he had at hand, whether of his own, or of some Rohillah Princes and Chieftains, that had now joined him, and these did not amount to less than fifty or sixty thousand men. These troops he placed in a well chosen post that had in front a small deep river, with lofty crooked banks covered with brambles, and with a quantity of thorny trees ; behind this front he placed his artillery as he could afford, for it was an object of contempt for the enemy. The latter very little intimidated by this order of battle, turned the front of the Rohillah post, and passed that little deep river by the right and left. The combat commenced, on one hand, by Shudjah-ed-dowlah's Talingahs, commanded mostly by eunuchs of merit, and on the other, by the English Talingahs, all old troops, accustomed to face the enemy, being commanded by Captains and Majors, flushed with victories, and all of them Officers of experience, and men of abilities as well as courage. The engagement commenced by the artillery of the English, which these people have the art to serve with so much expertness and expedition, that nothing can prevent its destructive effects, but a particular interposition of Providence, and an express miracle, wrought instantly ; nor could it be expected that such an undisciplined, disobedient rabble as can be collected in India, would face such a rain of fire, as might be poured by the English. This is as much as could be expected from the troops of

Battle, in  
which the  
Rohillahs are  
totally ruined.

Iran, who accustomed to advance and to retreat only by order of their Commanders, and mercilessly chastised whenever they shewed any delay or backwardness in action, were equal to an attack on such formidable enemies as those strangers. Such exertions could not be expected from the undisciplined Rohillahs, and in fact they were swept in shoals by that dreadful artillery, lost vast numbers of men, were soon thrown into a complete disorder, and fled in crowds towards the fields, but in reality towards the regions of eternity. Hafyz-rahmet, without being dismayed by the slaughter that surrounded him, stood his ground with a firmness and an intrepidity that did him honor. He was followed everywhere by a number of faithful men, all resolved to shed their blood in his company, and he was seen wherever the danger called for his presence, until at last a ball of cannon came, pierced his heroical breast through and through, and parted his soul from his body. Those who on his example stood yet their ground, no sooner saw him fall than they gave themselves up to despondency, and quitting the field of battle they fled on all sides, and joined those that had already preceded them. Shudjah-ed-dowlah seeing that victory had declared for his troops, alighted from his elephant, and spreading a carpet, he inclined himself profoundly before the Lord of victories, to whom he made a short prayer in thanksgiving for so signal a success. He was yet prostrated, when the head of Hafyz-rahmet was brought to him, and the indentity of it having been ascertained, he prostrated himself a second time; but one of his Generals, who had known Hafyz-rahmet, producing a handkerchief to wipe the earth and dirt from its face, he was stopped short by these words : "Let it remain as it is," interrupted Shudjah-ed-dowlah. "That dirt and mire on that face are so much ornament to my own. "I return thanks to God Almighty, that I have to-day taken a full revenge for the perpetual insolencies and endless cruelties which this bloody barbarous race has been continually offering to my father, to my family, and to an infinity of faithful believers." Whilst he was speaking, Zabeta-qhan, who had still a body of a thousand men, was close to him. But this severing of Hafyz-rahmet's head, which had been ordered by Providence in punishment of the numberless injuriees offered by that undisciplined nation to the people of God, seemed to be the

Bravery of  
Hafyz-rahmet  
their General,  
who is slain.

signal for their losing courage totally, and for dispersing heedlessly. A panic seized the whole race, and spreading itself through all ranks, without distinction of age or sex, it worked upon their constitution as a vertiginous giddiness, which prevented their entertaining any thoughts of ever joining together, or of assembling again to any effect. Shudjah-ed-dowlah, after this signal victory, being become the master of the country, spread his victorious troops far and near, with orders to put to the sword every Rohillah that should appear in arms, or did not submit, and meanwhile he turned his thoughts towards quieting the country, bringing it under order and controul, and annexing it to his own dominions. The rest of the Rohillah nation, struck with terror and dismay, submitted, and all their Chiefs reluctantly sent their obeisance. These were Fateh-ollah-qhan, with the rest of D8ndy-qhan's family, Muhabbet-qhan, with his brothers, sons of Hafyz-rahmet, and Fäiz-ollah-qhan, son to Aaly-mahmed-qhan-Rohillah, the founder of that principality, of whom we have so often spoken in the first volume. All those Princes who had retired with a confused multitude within the mountains of Camä8, unable to bear the water and air of that climate, and overcome by the difficulties of their situation, repaired to Shudjah-ed-dowlah's camp, with their principal officers, and acknowledged his sovereignty.

But Fäiz-ollah-qhan, finding himself followed by the sons of D8ndi-qhan, and Hafyz-rahmet, Princes that nad long served under Aaly-mahmed-Rohillah, his father, to whom they owed their fortunes, he conceived hopes of being better attended by the fugitives of his nation, and he retired to the foot of the mountains, with a design to live by making courses, and ravaging the enemy's country. Luckily for him that he was brought to his senses by

Fate of the  
Rohillah  
Princes.

the English Commanders, who interposed their mediation, and presented him to Shudjah-ed-dowlah, with whom they had stipulated some conditions in his behalf; for they obtained for him a certain tract of Rohillah ground at the very extremeties of that country, which stretched at the foot of the mountains, and yielded a revenue of about ten or fifteen lacs. Thither he retired with the remains of his demolished nation, and there he applied himself to the improvement of the country, and there he now lives with dignity and splendour. The rest of the Rohillah Princes, so far from being so much favoured by fortune, were left unnoticed,

and even without a subsistence ; and some who were suspected of knowing of concealed hoards and treasures, suffered every hardship in a long confinement. I, the poor man, have seen at Lucknow most of the sons of Hafyz-rahmet and D8ndy-qhan, and it is from their own mouths I have learned their own history. It was a little after Shudjah-ed-dowlah's death, and at the beginning of the reign of his son, Assef-ed-dowlah, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in a little time. It was at Lucknow that I became fully acquainted with them all, and also with a number of the principal persons that had a share in that expedition. But the most illustrious and valuable amongst these Rohillah Princes was undoubtedly Muhabbet-qhan, younger brother to Ynaïet-qhan, which latter had once endeared himself to Shudjah-ed-dowlah by being his companion of arms in his expedition against Azimabad. This young Prince seemed by his figure as well as by his character, to be worthy of dominions, or at least to deserve a better fortune ; but times were too hard and insensible, or at least too blind to pay a due attention to so much merit, and he was suffered to linger upon a small pension, quite inadequate to his rank in life(39), and that too at the very time when Fäiz-ollah-qhan was complimented with a country that cannot yield less than twenty lacs of rupees—he whose paternal possessions in the life-time of the Rohillah power never did afford above five lacs a year. A strange perverseness this and a strange infatuation of the times indeed ! which, blind to real merit, and blundering upon incapacity and meanness of character, seem intent only on affording regrets and surprise to the sensible observer !—Verses :

“ Fortune, that known flatterer of the vile, has but one eye,  
 “ And that, too, is at the top of her head ;  
 “ So that whenever she has catched a Jack-ass by the tail,  
 “ She cannot distinguish it is a Jack-ass's tail,  
 “ But after having raised it so high as to be at the top of her head.  
 “ When, finding her mistake, she drops the tail at once,  
 “ And down falls the beast from high, to break its neck by the fall,  
 “ This done, the Cyclope stretches her hand for another.

Be it as it will, it is certain that this treaty and junction of Governor Hushtin's with Shudjah-ed-dowlah met with a very bad

---

(39) A thousand or twelve hundred rupees per month.

The treaty  
of the English  
with Shudjah-  
ed-dowlah  
highly dis-  
approved in  
Europe.

reception at home, and that the Members of the Council of London, which is the Capital of the English Empire, finding fault with every part of the whole expedition, repeatedly reprimanded him with great asperity, for his having permitted Shudjah-ed-dowlah to wage war with the Rohillahs, and, moreover, for his having lent him the assistance of the English troops. But the Governor, having vindicated his conduct with equal solidity and eloquence, became a great favourite with the people at home, and from that time his favour went on increasing daily, and it put it in his power to regulate to his mind the Company's affairs at Bengal, as well as to attend to the changes that were taking place at the Capital of Hindostan.

For whilst Shudjah-ed-dowlah was making conquests, Mirzanejdjeqhan, who had once been in his service, having lately shaken off his inferiority and submission, had risen by dint of merit and achievements to an equality with his old master; and the latter who had hitherto been brooding upon discontents, conceived long ago, now thought it expedient to take a different style with him, to forget his discontent, to commence his friend, and to talk of nothing but completing a perfect union between themselves. He even betrothed one of his daughters to that rising conqueror, and did everything in his power to gain his affection. But Nedjeqhan, although now at the head of so much power, thought it incumbent upon his generosity to continue his former submissive style to Shudjah-ed-dowlah, and to abstain from availing himself of the equality to which fortune had raised him on the theatre of the world. He continued to write in a respectful style to Shudjah-ed-dowlah, as to his superior, even in an affair which required to be handled with great firmness as well as much delicacy; for the Rohillah power, having been for some time before in the agonies of death, most of the countries that had belonged to Nedjib-ed-dowlah, and, by succession, to Zabeta-qhan, his son, had been conquered by Nedjeqhan with the assistance of the Marhattas, some time before Shudjah-ed-dowlah's expedition, or they had surrendered to his arms. Some of these Districts were on this side of the Ganga, and touched(40) towards

Alliance be-  
tween Shud-  
jah-ed-dowlah  
and Nedje-  
qhan.

(40) The Author wrote at Lucknow and at Benares on the other side of the Ganga; so that without knowing this circumstance his account of this partition-treaty becomes unintelligible, unless, indeed, there should be errors in the manuscript;

the north to the dominions of Hafyz-rahmet and D8ndy-qhan, which were the territories of Chandp8r, Nediah, Patter-ghur, and some others; whereas the greatest part of Zabeta-qhan's country extended mostly to the west and south of the Ganga, and such were the Districts of Barr, Soharenp8r-b8dia, and the rest. On the other hand, all the countries that had belonged to Hafyz-rahmet, and the children of Aaly-mahmed-Rohillah, as well as to D8ndy-qhan's posterity, had been taken possession of by Shudjah-ed-dowlah, that is, all that part to the north and east of the Ganga, which was contiguous to the Province of A8d; such as the Districts of Shah-djehan-p8r, Bereily, Anowla, Bedäon, Bissöulah, and some others. The other Districts on the eastern side of the Ganga, such as those of Sumbul, M8rad-abad, Amr8a, &c., together with all the country between the two rivers of Ganga and Djumnah, had been conquered by Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, from Mahmed-qhan-Bangash, and bestowed upon the Marhattas. But this nation having since their bloody defeat at Pany-p8t evacuated so effectually all Hindostan, that there was not one individual Marhatta to be found in any part of it, the conquered countries, bestowed upon that nation by Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, together with some others in the Anterbid tract, were divided amongst themselves, by Hafyz-rahmet, Ahmed-bangash, and the families of Doondy-qhan and Nedjib-qhan, who received thereon the Abdaly-king's orders. Part of Zabeta-qhan's spoils then being on the Lucknow side, and part on the Delhi side of the Ganga, Nedjef-qhan, who felt how much such a situation was liable to misunderstandings, set out for Shudjah-ed-dowlah's Court, with intention to come to an agreement with that Prince about a final division of those territories. Being arrived at that Court, he examined with him the net revenues of those districts that had heretofore constituted Nedjeb-ed-dowlah's dominions, and it was agreed between them, that whatever was on this side of the Ganga, that is, on the eastern and northern side of it, as Patter-ghur, Chand-poor, Nedjinah, and some other districts, should be annexed to the Province of A8d; and that such parts as were on the other western side, with part of D8ndy-qhan's

Followed  
by a treaty of  
partition be-  
tween them.

---

and even with this circumstance, it does not seem to tally with the geographical charts now under our eyes, and it has been thought proper therefore to deviate a little from the text, so as to listen rather to the information tendered by the chart.

and Hafyz-rahmet's countries, should be annexed to the Provinces of Acbar-abad and Delhi, to which they were contiguous. This partition having given satisfaction to both parties, and the limits having been agreed to and ascertained, the Agreement was explained in a written instrument, which received the usual forms; after which Nedjef-qhan departed to his own country, carrying with him the Prince Zabeta-qhan, whom he had requested from Shudjah-ed-dowlah, and to whom he shewed every demonstration of favour and regard, loading him with presents and distinctions at every opportunity that offered. Shudjah-ed-dowlah, after this departure, turned his thoughts entirely towards bringing to order and submission the Rohillah country, and towards incorporating his conquests with his hereditary dominions.

*Shudjah-ed-dowlah prepares to enjoy his conquests.*

But Providence, who had been preparing the causes of his dissolution from afar, had appointed the time, and it was not to be foregone by a moment. A disorder of the venereal kind made its appearance between his belly and his thigh—it was of the species called by the vulgar a Qhyarec, (small cucumber). In a little time it broke open, and commenced suppurating abundantly. As such an eruption had never been known to be of so serious a nature as to endanger a man's life, he made no great account of it, especially as the known and usual remedies were from time to time applied by some Indian or Armenian Chirurgeons, and especially by some European ones, who were this long time in his service and enjoyed his confidence. Nevertheless the wound increased, and as it seemed to baffle all the powers of physic, a suspicion arose amongst his friends and courtiers about the nature of a wound that yielded to no remedy. And it was then that a strange and universal report prevailed, that having cast his eyes upon Hafyz-rahmet's daughter, actually in his seraglio, the young lady, who had about herself a full measure of that ferocity and sense of honour so remarkable in women of the Rohillah race(41), submitted to his embraces, but

---

(41) Whether the women of the Rohillah race have really that ferocity in their nature, which the Author means, is what we know not, but we are certain that they bear the fairest character for chastity and fidelity amongst the Mussulman women of Hindostan, and are likewise the handsomest, being tall and slender-waisted and with a long oval face and small delicate feet and hands. As to Shudjah-ed-dowlah's wound, although we have seen an English chirurgeon who had seen it, and affirmed it to be a buboe, and the Author, doubtless out of regard to his friend,

at the moment he was closing with her person(42), she drew a small clasp-knife, which had been dipped in poison by her mother, and thrust it, with all her might, into his groin ; from which circumstance people accounted for the rebellious nature of the wound. But this report was certainly without foundation, and is unquestionably erroneous ; notwithstanding which it ran then and still continues to run so strong, that there are numbers of people who will admit of no other cause for his death, and who reject the other as fictitious, and as an invention to serve a turn. Be it as it will, Shudjah-ed-dowlah himself, astonished at the state of his health, resolved to return to what he called his home, by which he meant the Palace which he had finished at Fäizabad, but which had been commenced and founded, as well as that city itself, by his maternal grandfather, Saadet-qhan. He mounted

---

Muhabbet-qhan, eldest son to Hafyz-rahmet, seems strongly to discard the story of the Rohillah Princess, yet is he obliged to yield to the notoriety and prevalence of the report, which ran so generally at that very time, that the very detail of all that affair is come to be known. " Daughter," said the mother, as she was going away, " remember that thou art daughter to a Hafyz-rahmet, and the designed bride of " a Rohillah Prince. Thou wert not born to be any man's concubine, still less of " that man, who has killed thy father, and entailed slavery and prostitution upon " our family, which he has reduced to beggary. Go ; but perish a thousand times, " rather than suffer any defilement. If thou art a true Rohillah girl, that man will " not prevail upon thee." The girl was seventeen, tall and vigorous, as are the Rohillah women, as well as beautiful and elegantly made. She had concealed the clasp-knife in the tresses of her hair, and taking her time, she struck Shudjah-ed-dowlah, who got up and retired, but who with a sign of his hand ordered her to be dispatched ; and three Eunuchs plunged their poniards in her body. Such is the detail of that affair, and it is certain that such a story has always been reputed the genuine one. It is certain also that the girl did disappear, and that two thousand women that were dismissed subsequently from Shudjah-ed-dowlah's zenannah, never varied a point in their narrative. We know a man who has one of these women at home, and she is one of the four hundred that had been bedded twice in seven years by Shudjah-ed-dowlah, and of course a favourite. This woman constantly repeats the same story ; is a person of great sense as well as much beauty ; was acquainted with the daughter ; remained two years since in the Palace, and never could see her since that day ; and she even was severely reprimanded for inquiring after her. In short, this story was put into verses by the ladies of the seragilo. Those verses went abroad, have been sung by public dancers and are known to her. It must be added to this that a wound, which has degenerated into a cancer, cannot be ascertained for a buboe by any chirurgeon upon earth, especially after its remaining open for full four months, and its being operated upon all that while.

(42) In the original, it is, " As he was going to open, or disclose, her woman-  
" hood."

a Naleky(43), and set out for that desired spot, leaving his second son, Mirza-saadet-aaly, as his Deputy in the new conquered countries, and recommending that young Prince to the care of Sidy-beshir, the Habeshinian, a slave of his grandfather's, and who being very much trusted both by the father and son, had risen to be one of the principal personages of the Court. He placed him near his son, as a tutor and a guardian, and departed for Fäiz-abad.

Arrived at that Capital, he expected a benefit even from the change of air, but his wound becoming worse and worse, and having by this time considerably affected his health, it was discovered that it had degenerated into a malignant cancer. He now called to his assistance some English chirurgeons, whom he joined to his ancient and trusty ones, and these spared no care or attention, but all to no purpose. Matters now wore a gloomy aspect. For although, according to the Scriptural sentence, that "The moment of death is not to be advanced or retarded by a single instant, and delay is undoubtedly beyond the reach of "human power," nevertheless, as the Divine goodness, instead of bringing forth the events of this world by abrupt transitions, hath vouchsafed to make them grow out of one another, by a concatenation of second causes, some of which remain concealed, while others become open to view; these last are often attended to and observed by men of sense, who discover, even in the plainest of them, tokens of an attentive wisdom. And this rule is applicable to Shudjah-ed-dowlah's dying when young, and to his departing this world with a heart torn by the regret of being deprived of the enjoyment of it, at a time when he had raised his power to a high pitch, had provided every object of enjoyment, and had resolved henceforward to live in a laudable beneficent manner. But I humbly conceive to have discovered the cause. It was too late to remedy all the evils he had caused. It is true that he had many laudable qualifications, and that he lived in a very high style, on purpose to afford subsistence to a greater number of persons; but it is no less true that he used to spoil all

Remarks on  
the singular  
dispensations  
of Providence.

---

(43) A Naleky is a Paleky, either open or covered, but it leans upon two bamboos, like a Sedan in Europe, with this difference only, that the poles are carried by four or eight men, and upon the shoulders, whereas those of a Paleky hang from the shoulders.

the merits of that conduct by two or three ugly customs or proceedings of his, that would render all merit detestable, and doubtless it was in punishment of such excesses that the Divine Avenger, from whose minute recording there is no concealing anything, thought it high time to drive him from this world, at a period of life when he was still young, and wished to enjoy the vigor of his body and the fullness of his power. He stripped him of the sweets of dominion and life, and obliged him to take to the road of eternity, whilst he was all the while lamenting his fate, and parting with this world with the most heart-felt regret. The first of these ugly actions of his was his faithlessness and perfidy to Mir-cassim-qhan, who although far from being himself a blameless man, certainly had not deserved from Shudjah-ed-dowlah the unworthy treatment he received at his hands. After having made every promise to that fugitive, and having confirmed those promises by writing them with his own hand on a blank leaf of the glorious Word of God ; after having recommended the faith of the treaty to God Almighty himself, to the Prince of the Envoys(44), to the Proto-martyr and Prince of the Justs, and to His Highness Saint Abbas, son to Aaly, and grandson to Ab8-taa'eb, (upon all whom may peace and grace rest for ever !) ; after having promised a perfect safety to that fugitive man in his person, honour, and fortune, and having received in immense presents and a variety of services, a full return for the asylum he had afforded him ; to change at once so far as to entice his ungrateful servants and soldiers to a revolt, and then to confine his person, together with his consort and children, and after that to confiscate his whole remaining property, without exception, so as to reduce a potent Prince, once a bestower of lacs and treasures, to want the very necessaries of life, and to live on a footing with a wretched beggar, is such a series of shocking and dishonourable actions as no pen could describe without pain and horror. The second of his censurable proceedings, was his merciless disregard of the circumstances of more than two hundred thousand persons in his dominions(45), who all enjoyed either pensions

His character highly reprehensible.

(44) Mahomed is the Prince and Seal of the Envoys—and Aaly, his cousin and son-in-law, is the Proto-martyr.

(45) Our author, who might require continual paraphrase, or even a whole commentary, does not specify whether those more than two lacs of men were in his ancient dominions, or in his new conquered ones, of the Rohilcund. Surely

He confiscates all the charity-lands.

or salaries, or whole villages or lands on which they subsisted. All these were, with one stroke of his pen, swept away, and confiscated, and immense multitudes of men were left deprived of their accustomed subsistence, most of them being of a sex or of an age that rendered them incapable of providing for themselves. Insomuch that vast numbers of them, ashamed to beg, and wanting the very staff of life, rather than shew their faces in public, and undergo thereby a defilement, shut up their doors, and silently perished in want and misery. Vast numbers of others, overcome by the pangs of hunger, quitted their paternal homes, and turning beggars, lingered out a wretched existence, embittered by endless woe and boundless regret. It is possible that about ten or twenty of those holders of charity-lands(46)may have been arrant hypocrites, and such as were addicted to practices that might excite suspicion, and even fully deserve chastisement. Such people undoubtedly ought to have been ascertained, dragged out of the crowd, and punished according to their deserts, although he himself, after all, seemed inclined to overlook such misdemeanours in others; but he might have remembered that he had succeeded to those Princes and Sovereigns of India, who in humble imitation of the Almighty goodness which bestows its rain and its sun upon the worthy and good, as well as upon the unworthy and wicked, had never thought of depriving any living soul of the subsistence they found it accustomed to enjoy.

" Beware! for God Almighty, who is above and behind,

" Never has shut up the door of subsistence, even to the sinner."

---

his ancient dominions could not have afforded a constant revenue to these two hundred thousand pensioners, as well as a constant adequate revenue to the Prince of the country. The author then must have had in view the aggregate of Shudjah-ed-dowlah's dominions, both old and recent, and in the recent ones, the English, of whom so much evil has been, and is still said, and whose amazing prosperity is not of a nature to be forgiven by envy and jealousy, have been instrumental in securing a subsistence to an infinity of Rohillah families; and as to their own dominions in Bengal and Bahar, where they have indeed resumed an infinity of grants and lands, equity requires an acknowledgment, that they have conserved and likewise confirmed, an infinity of others, one-half of which afforded a full handle for chicane, and resumption.

(46) The reader, who has read in Montesquieu and in others, that there are despotic Governments, and that in India the subjects have no land in property, must be informed not only, that there are no despotic Empires in fact, but that in India, over and above innumerable lands held in fee simple, there are innumerable others, to the value of several millions sterling a year, that are always set apart for charitable uses.

The third ugly part of his conduct was his continual disregard to the honor of his servants and subjects(47), and his inattention and carelessness about the rights of possession and property. Whenever he wanted to enlarge a palace, or to raise some new building, he made little account of pulling down the houses and habitations of his servants, or his subjects; insomuch that numbers of people, not only lost their grounds and materials, but their very furniture and movables, the whole of which never failed to be reputed fair booty by those shoals of pioneers who crowded upon them at once without warning, and reduced them in a twinkling to distress and beggary(48).

His heinous  
disregard to  
the honor and  
property of  
the subjects.

---

(47) It was not an uncommon thing for a mother, who had a pretty daughter, to see her dwelling entered at once by a couple of eunuchs and half a dozen of constables, or cutval-men, who seized on the daughter, put her in a covered dowlah or chair, and carried her to the Palace, from whence she never returned. It is true that a pension always followed, but then the daughter, the comfort of one family and the hope of two, was gone for ever.

(48) To give a glimpse of those times by those that have succeeded, it may not be improper to compliment the European reader with the following story: A family of eighteen persons, all Hindoos, lived at Lucknow in a small house of twenty feet square, that had in the middle a small yard, no bigger than a dining table, but still planted with one shrub of Toolsy or Balm, a shrub held in great veneration by the Gentoos. The house was two stories high. On the father's death, the younger son ejected his elder, but abandoned the house himself for some time, as it seemed to be haunted by the old man. The elder brother presented two suppliques to Assef-ed-dowlah, who promised to send people on the spot to take a local knowledge of the matter. And, indeed, he sent two thousand pioneers, who in one single night carried away every brick of the tenement, and levelled the ground so effectually, that it could not be distinguished from some other contiguous parts where that Prince was actually enlarging his Palace. The man came next morning as he had been bid, and was informed that he must be an impostor or a mad man, as there was no house on the spot he had designed. The man was thunderstruck! Proper people being sent with him to inquire of the neighbours, the latter unanimously answered that they knew nothing about that matter, and the man thinking himself in an enchanted world, became melancholy, and then lost his wits, fell in demence, and then turned Fakir. In 1781, we saw him at Lucknow. "Brother," said we, "you have been inquiring for your house this longwhile; have you discovered any traces of it at last?" "And how should I, brother Moghul," answered the man with the most jocular air and tone of voice; "I knew a great many things of my house, but never suspected it had wings, and would elope into the moon."

The reader will forgive us a second story, as it is connected with the subject, and gives an insight into Shudjah-ed-dowlah's prematurity of character, as well as a proper notion into what the Europeans are pleased to style the despotism of Asia. Shudjah-ed-dowlah, when very young, was smitten with the charms of a young Hindoo Lady, whom he chanced to see at one of the bathing places. The young man

Nor did any one, but God himself, listen to the screams and groans of those ejected, forlorn families. But the day of account and retribution was now come. He was informed that he had but few hours to live ; so that sending for his mother, consort, and

finding that neither prayers nor promises could answer any purpose, resolved to enjoy the object of his desires by main force. He planted a ladder at one of the Lady's windows, (the houses at Benares are mostly of stone, and three or four stories high), and got into what he thought the fair one's apartment, but where he was shut up by her relations, who ran to the Cutval, or officer of the Police. The latter thought the matter of importance enough to be reported to the young Prince's father. He ordered him to be awakened at midnight. "*Had you been equal to your office,* broke forth, *Ab8l-mans8r-ghan,* darting, at the same time, a formidable look at the man, *you would not have awakened me at midnight to ask me what is to be done with rascals that are escalading a citizen's house.* The Cutval, who was a shrewd man, (and no others are put in that office) having now his cue, ran back to the escaladed house, and having seized the young man, he used him very ill. *You forget,* said the latter, sternly, *who I am, or at least pretended to do so—but I inform you that I am Mirza-djelabeddin-haider.—You! you! Give that rascal, exclaimed the Cutval, give that rascal two boxes on the ear, to teach him the consequences of assuming such illustrious names.—Well done!—Now give him two kicks in the belly to teach him manners.—Excellent my lads—two more for my sake.—Well that is right now. Dost thou believe, thou rascal, that our young Prince has been so wretchedly bred, as to quit the paternal house at midnight, to escalade people's houses in order to rob them of their wives?* Whilst the Cutval was speaking, the constables were engaged with the culprit, who being a stout young man, full six feet high, defended himself vigorously. But he was at last overpowered, thrown down, and woefully served with cudgels and sticks; and his business was so handsomely done, that being now unable to walk, he was dragged to prison, sometimes by the hand and sometimes by the foot. Being arrived there, a few hours after, the other culprits, who had their cue, quarrelled with him, and falling all together upon him, they left him for dead. All this while he had received no victuals ; the others used to receive theirs at stated hours. He fell to prayers, was refused ; attempted to snatch some morsel, was banged again ; he fell to intreaties, quarrelled a third time, and a third time was banged. The Mirza, very much humbled by such a strange series of disastrous events, sent a message to his father, requesting his forgiveness, and his remembering that he had a son. *A son, said the Viceroy! I have none. He is dead three days ago. Had I any, I dare say, that the young man, instead of escalading the house of a citizen, would have thought it his duty to protect his property with his own person, still more so his honour. I am paid for that purpose myself, and it is on that account they pay me taxes and duties.* The Mirza, repulsed here, applied to his mother.—*Me, his mother, answered the Princess, with horror and indignation! Had I a son, that son would not attempt to rob a citizen of his honour. Let the son of a whore look out for his mother in some one of the caravansaries, as well as for his father!* There she must be, I am sure. In one word, the Mirza remained full seven days in that loathsome place, and was literally famished. At the end of that term, he presented himself before his father, who was then playing at chess. The

relations, he pronounced his profession of faith(49), and asked their pardon, and on a Thursday, being the twenty-second of Zilcaad, in the year 1188 of the Hedjra, he expired, departing from the caravansary of this fragile world, for the regions of eternity.

One would hardly believe that, with such a strange character, he should have been an object of regret; and yet it is beyond doubt that he has been regretted to an incredible degree. Several persons of importance and credit have affirmed that the report of his death filled the whole city of Faiz-abad with sorrow and grief. Muhabbet-ghan (eldest son to Hafyz-rahmet), who certainly could not be partial to him, and to whose merit it is difficult to render sufficient justice, has more than once told me, that although his family had been ruined by Shudjah-ed-dowlah, and himself reduced to the condition in which I then saw him, nevertheless, on seeing his corpse pass by, he could not contain himself, but shed a flood of tears. He added that he cannot compare the general impression of sorrow felt that day by every one, to any thing but to what is sometimes observed in the last days of the ten first ones of the Muharrem(50), when it is not

---

young man looked like a ghost, with dirty clothes, and a famished countenance, and he was mixed in a crowd of other suitors at about a hundred yards from the window of the audience-hall. The Viceroy, just casting a look at him, said : *So, sir, it is you!* and continued his game. Six months elapsed before he would speak another word to him, and the culprit was all this time making his bow twice a week at a hundred yards' distance, like some one of the lowest rank. The mother would not see him all that while. But at last she interposed, and she was supported by the whole Court. The Viceroy made him shift his clothes, (he had not shifted all that while, and such is the etiquette of India for prisoners) and bid him sit down, but did not add another word, and the reconciliation took up a whole year.

(49) Luckily for the Mahometans this profession of faith has none of those very long and very alambicated metaphysical phrases that distinguish the thirty-nine articles of the English, and nothing of those still longer and infinitely more amazing and metaphysical tenets of the Romanistes. It is quite plain and short. Here it is : *I believe that there is no God, but God, and also that Mohammed is His Messenger.* Here it is again with the Canonical, but less usual, amplification : *I believe in God, in His Angels, His Prophets, His Books, and in the Resurrection, and also that evil and good come from God.*

(50) The processions that are seen in the first days of Muharrem, being all armed, and marching with drums beating, and colours flying, represent the troops that flocked to Hussein. The fifth, sixth, and seventh night is spent in recounting the manner of his death, and the mortal thirst he suffered. This narrative is drawn up in such pathetic terms, and pronounced in so melting a strain, and it is uttered

possible to observe in a numerous assembly one single face that is not unaffected with grief. He protested that the whole city of Faiz-abad was in that predicament, no face being to be met with but was bathed in tears ; insomuch that he doubted much whether a single person could be found that day, that had not wept abundantly. It was then remembered that, about a year before his death, a tumour had arisen at his back or about his shoulders, and as both his father and maternal grandfather had died of such a distemper, it was feared lest the tumour at the back might turn out to be of a cancerous nature ; and he vowed to send five lacs of rupees to the holy places ; a vow which he performed to the full(51), after having fully recovered his health. But as he was himself predestined to die of that distemper, hereditary in his family, he at last perished himself by a cancer. His body having been washed, purified, and wrapped up in a winding-sheet, according to the rites customary in Hindostan, it was taken up by Mirza-aaly-qhan and Salar-djung, brothers to his consort, who, together with the principal Grandees of the Court, and Officers of the army, and the most eminent men of the city, carried it by turns upon their shoulders, all the while preceded and followed by an immense retinue of his horses, with so theatrical an action, that it has always drawn tears from even ourselves, who look upon that whole quarrel about the Qhalifat to be a political, and not a religious matter. And we have seen a young woman at Lucknow, who on seeing the simulachre of Hossein's coffin pass by, followed by crowds in tears, screamed out, *O much injured Imam Hossein, I have nothing to give you, but my life!—Take it—I will die with you!* And straight she threw herself from a second story, and was dashed to pieces. Nor are examples wanting of men being worked up to a pitch of madness, by those pathetic narratives, and those theatrical representations. A Persian, called Abbass, a shop-keeper of Lucknow, and a fanatical Shyah, having been prevailed upon by Aaly-beg-qhan, a General of Shudjah-ed-dowlah's, to personate Yezid during the last day of the Muharrem, for the consideration of two thousand rupees, was dressed like an Arabiar Monarch ; and with a very large turbant upon his head, he was placed in a conspicuous part of the theatre. But the assembly having been worked into a frenzy by the pathetic narrative, some men in a fury got up, and struck the Yezid, their own acquaintance ; and this having as by a signal set on fire the whole assembly, all those Persians, every one of whom knew personally the poor man, fell upon him, and hacked him to pieces with their sabres, whilst the poor shop-keeper was screaming out : *But I am not Yezid; you are mad—I am Abbass, as good a Shyah as any of you—I am Abbass—No Yezid—Abbass, Abbass—Shyah, Shyah, Abbass, Abb—*

(51) The holy places, with the Sunnies, are Mecca and Medina ; with the Shyahs it is still the same places, but with the addition of Nedjef, Kerbelah, and Mesh-hed.

elephants, and his whole household, and by crowds of people that had been attached to his person. Whilst the convoy was yet on its march towards G8lab-bagh(52), where the body was to be entombed, his virtuous son, Mirza-amany, that man whom people are pleased to call Assef-ed-döwlah(53), anxious to sit upon the paternal throne, and fearful lest so many Grandees and officers, who were as fully apprised of his incapacity and unworthiness as he was sensible of it himself, should pretend to choose a successor to his father from his other children—Mirza-amani, I say—without any respect to decency, and without any regard to the plainest dictates of common sense in so awful a ceremony, sent trusty persons through the middle of the procession, with orders to bring his two uncles back by all means, and even by force. The two brothers excused themselves upon the impropriety of quitting the procession before its arrival at G8lab-bagh, and on the offence which such a conduct would give to the Mussulman people in general. But meanwhile other messengers coming up with precise orders to bring them by force, the two Lords pronounced a short apology and went away. Some others, who had not been sent for, but who guessed at the sentiments of the deceased's successor, went back of themselves, to secure by such a conduct some part of his good will and favour. Assef-ed-döwlah, after a short consultation with them, sent for Colonel Cleiss, and another Englishman of consideration, who had been in great esteem with Shudjah-ed-döwlah, and he told them, "that a delay would be improper; that the decrees of Providence had been fulfilled, and that they had nothing else to do but to place him upon the throne of his 'father.'" The two Commanders thought so much precipitation improper, and excused themselves upon their waiting for orders. The other insisted, intreated, and spoke much upon that subject; and at last he promised a great sum of money, should they comply with his request immediately. The two Commanders, having talked sometime amongst themselves, agreed at last that this man was the deceased's eldest son, born of a woman of equal rank to his own, and to whom of course the succession belonged by the rules of hereditary right. "After all," added

Is installed in  
the throne by  
two English  
Officers.

(52) Garden of Roses, a pleasing seat at four miles from the Palace.

(53) This word signifies the Assef, or The Wise Minister of the Empire.

they, " what harm will that do to us? On the contrary it will do us good." They immediately sent for a turbant, rolled it upon his head, and calling for the principal men, actually attending the procession, they commanded them to offer their nuzurs, and to make their bows of acknowledgment. The military music had likewise orders to strike up. The sound of this being heard by the other part of the retinue, which actually attended the procession, gave that multitude at once, as well as every one of the men of distinction that still remained, an insight into the successor's turn of mind. Quitting therefore the convoy, they returned to the Palace. As soon as they were arrived, and the Court appeared numerous and frequent, this virtuous son, who doubtless had been this longwhile panting for such days as these, took his seat upon the Mesned of Sovereignty, and received the homages of the whole assembly; and all this was done with so indecent a precipitation, that the music at the Palace was playing in token of rejoicing, whilst the people of no note and character that had remained with the body, were performing the funeral rites over it, and the rejoicings were heard sounding whilst it was actually committing to the earth. The new Prince now being universally acknowledged, brought forwards his ancient steward and friend, appointed him his Deputy all over his dominions, raised him to the grade of seven thousand horse, gave him a military music and the insignia of the Mahi, or fish, and decorated him with the title of Moqhtar-ed-döwlah, or " The Omnipotent of the State." This was no other than Mir-M8rteza-qhan, brother to Mir-M8rtézévi-qhan. But Iredj-qhan and Sidy-beshir, with some other friends and councilors of Shudjah-ed-döwlah's, observing how the wind blew, thought proper to provide for their own safety. Iredj-qhan, under pretence of obtaining the patents of confirmation from the Emperor, and of strengthening the treaty of amity and union that had been concluded with Nedjef-qhan, obtained leave to repair to Shah-djehan-abad, and thought himself very lucky to escape from the new Prince's grasp. In a few days more, the latter, under pretence that he could not agree with his mother and grandmother, quitted the city of Fäiz-abad, and with his whole Court and army he marched to Lucknow. After coming out of the city, he sent his mother a message requesting his father's

treasures. For Shudjah-ed-döwlah, who on his making peace with the English in their camp, had been so zealously assisted by his consort, had from that time conceived so high an opinion of her fidelity, that he used to entrust to her custody every saving he could bring up. Some four messages passed at that time between the son and the mother. At last the latter consented to pay a sum of fifty lacs of rupees, in lieu of all the treasures entrusted to her custody by the deceased Prince, and the son in appearance satisfied, gave her under his hand a general release, as having received the whole amount of his father's estate.

As soon as he had received the money, he made no more any scruple of exposing shamelessly all the ugliness of his whole character. He was a slave to effeminate affections, and had long ago selected and applied to his use a certain number of the most brawny Talingas or Sipahees, who served him according to his inclinations, and followed him everywhere by day as well as by night, as if they had been his shade. All these were now brought forward upon the stage of the world, complimented with sounding titles and large pensions, raised to grades of honor and to the command of whole Brigades, decorated with rich presents and fringed Palekies, and introduced to Court as men of character, and importance. Amongst this species of men was a Paleky-carrier, or chair-man, of his own, who had particularly hitted his fancy. He was now brought forward likewise, and distinguished by the title of Radja-mahera, or Prince chair-man. Another received the Government of Besvara, and he there drummed himself as well as his master all over the country. In short, it was observed that all his favourites and all those that approached him, were taken from amongst the vilest of mankind. It is with such a Court that he proceeded to Lucknow, where having tarried sometime, he advanced to Atava, which is Anterbid, and the last place of his dominions towards the west, and where he remained encamped a longwhile. At this place he sent for his brother, Mirza-saadet-aaly and for Sidy-beshir, who both obeyed the summons. The latter was lulled asleep by every demonstration of regard and favour, until the new Prince's emissaries had gained over to his side all the troops that were under the man's command. These being secured, a secret order was given to some officers to arrest Sidy-beshir and to bring him to the

An attempt  
to seize Sidy-  
beshir.

Heroical behaviour of Mir-bahadyr-aaly.

presence. The latter had received intelligence of the order, and was astonished at his being aimed at ; but whilst he was deliberating with himself, the troops sent for him were descried from afar. He had with him at that moment one Mir-bahadyr-aaly, a Sëyd of Barr, who was these many years attached to him, and owed to his favour his fortune and his very existence. This man turning to Sidy-beshir bid him get upon his own horse, and fly immediately. “*So long as I am alive,*” said he, “*I will keep them busy after me. Meanwhile be mounted, and without loss of time, fly for your life to the ferry boat on the Djum-nah, which is but at a small distance. Cross over at once, and then you shall be in Nedjef-qhan’s country, and of course in a place of safety. And you, added he, speaking to some friends then present, you owe as well as myself your very fortune to this man. See him safe on the other side of the water, and approve yourselves worthy of the favours you have received. Get away. I shall keep these people at bay for full half an hour.*” Sidy-beshir mounted and fled ; meanwhile Mir-bahadyr-aaly advanced out of the wall of the tent, and engaged the enemies, sabre in hand. He fought with so much resolution and bodily vigour, that for a full half hour no one could approach the door to get in and seize on Sidy-beshir. At last,

Who gets himself hacked to pieces in order to save his benefactor.

after having performed feats of prowess that did him an infinite honor, he was overborne by numbers, covered with wounds, and stretched on the ground. But meanwhile Beshir had already reached the Djumnah on a full gallop, and finding boats at hand, he got in one of them, and arrived safe in Nedjef-qhan’s country. Whilst he was crossing over to the other side, Bahadyr-aaly, who had cheerfully drank up the cup of martyrdom, was crossing over with a luminous face to the regions of eternity, where he was immediately admitted to the enjoyment of the parterres of Paradise. The soldiers straddling over that hero’s body, got within the tent, and searched for Beshir, but Beshir was not to be found ; they found every thing, save the ram of the black flock. After this glorious expedition, Assef-ed-döwlah took from his younger brother the administration of the Rohilcund, a country assigned to that young Prince as his share of the paternal estate, and he bestowed it on S8ret-sing, a Hindoo, who had been appointed Divan of the revenue of that tract, by

Shudjah-ed-dowlah himself. In all these transactions M8qhtar-ed-dowlah acted with so unbounded a sway, that Assef-ed-dowlah seemed reduced to a mere cypher. He obtained for Seyed-mahmed-qhan, his eldest brother, the title of Actydar-ed-dowlah, or "The Powerful of the State," and bestowed upon him the Government of A8d. His second brother, Muazzzez-qhan, was decorated with the title of Muazzzez-ed-dowlah, or "The Honour'd of the State," and also complimented him with the Government of Ilah-abad. To these titles he added a household of elephants, horses, furniture, and jewels, with every thing else suitable to their present high stations. In the same manner, he raised every one of his relations, kinsmen, or friends, to offices and to affluence, both in a degree too much above their merits, and at the same time he depressed and neglected every one of those who had been attached to Shudjah-ed-dowlah, or had of late attached themselves to the son. In short, his power and omnipotence rose to such a pitch, that there was not one man throughout the whole State, that dared dispute his will or oppose his pleasure.

M8qhtar-ed-dowlah,  
Minister of State.

Whilst so considerable a revolution was taking place at Lucknow, another, full as considerable, was taking place at Calcutta. After Shudjah-ed-dowlah's demise, Governor Hushtin had appointed Mr. Middleton to reside in Assef-ed-dowlah's Court, in the capacity of Agent for the Company, that is, to overlook and superintend the new Prince's actions and conduct; and he had resided but a short time at that Court, when there arrived at Calcutta three persons, appointed both by the King of the English and by the Company, to examine Governor Hushtin's late conduct. These were General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, who came directly on the part of the Council of London, which is the Capital of Inghilter (for such is the name of the country inhabited by the English)(54). These three men, for a variety of reasons, mentioned in the preceding sheets, acquired, at the very beginning, an ascendant over Governor Hushtin in the Council, by overruling his opinion in every thing; and they made it a point, in direct opposition to his mind, to displace all the persons he had put in office, and to substitute

Arrival of  
General  
Clavering and  
of two others  
from Europe.

(54) This word has remained in India to design England, ever since it was imported by the Portuguese.

Djan Bris-  
tow appointed  
at the Court  
of Lucknow  
instead of Mr.  
Middleton.

others. Mr. Middleton was of the former number, on the sole reason of his having been appointed by the Governor. In his stead the three persons in question, but especially General Clavering, appointed Mr. Djan Bristow. As this was a very sensible young man, he soon discovered how idiot and incapable were both Assef-ed-dowlah himself and his Minister; in consequence of which discovery he extended his influence in such a manner that he soon became the omnipotent disposer of every thing in Assef-ed-dowlah's dominions. M8qhtar-ed-dowlah, the Prime Minister, together with all the persons he had put in office, were all imprudent, ignorant men, as I intend to explain in the sequel, having chanced to arrive at Lucknow at that very time. Djan Bristow discovered, in the twinkling of an eye, what kind of men they were: a set of people whose characters there is no describing, as bearing no similitude to any thing of the human kind; with the shape of men, indeed, but with the inclinations, temper, and understanding of brutes, below which even some of them might have been very properly ranked! Djan Bristow, who was soon informed of every detail of their administration, engaged M8qhtar-ed-dowlah to a conference, in which, mixing some compliments with insinuations of his needing a protection for some parts of his conduct which might come to light, he so far worked upon that imbecile Minister's fears, that he engaged him to make over and cede to the Company the whole Province of Benares, which paid to Government only twenty-five lacs, but yielded seventy to Radja Belvent-sing, its Zemindar. Nor did this senseless man probably give any other share to his imbecile master in this astair, than that of communicating to him his own apprehensions and pusillanimity; and no wonder indeed, since this master was become no better than a mere beast of burthen, both to the Englishman and to the Minister. The donation was signed in due form, and sent to Calcutta with expedition. The Governor, as an Englishman, could not be but extremely pleased to hear of a gift that annexed to the English dominions such a country as Benares; but on the other hand, as he had himself gone to that city expressly for such a purpose, and had in vain requested several times such a cession from Shudjah-ed-dowlah, who as often had declined listening to it under a variety of excuses, he could not see without

concern that such a mighty affair should have been brought about in so little time by so young a man as Djan Bristow, who in dignity and station was like a drop of water in the ocean when compared to him. His concern was heightened by this particular circumstance, that this young man was attached to the General's party, and would necessarily by such a transaction acquire the highest merit with the Company at home, and with the men in power in London. What is very singular, and gives an insight into that improvidence so characteristic in M8qhtar-ed-dowlah's turn of mind, is, that he finished at once such a mighty affair, without once thinking of stipulating with the Council of Calcutta some conditions of protection to himself, in any future emergency! For it is certain that he had it in his power to make such a merit of that service of his, even in Europe, as might have brought the principal rulers of those parts to conclude with him a treaty that would have secured his influence, as well as his personal safety, against all attempts. The consequence of such a treaty would have been, that no man would have dared to say an angry word to him, so far from thinking of putting him to death; and even in the supposition that he might still have been made away with, his death would have been resented with torrents of blood by a set of men, who would have revenged it at all events, and even by transferring the dominion of those countries from Shudjah-ed-dowlah's posterity to that of the Minister's. But Heaven being bent on ruining and destroying the inhabitants of these climes, it happens that it is always the most imbecile and ignorant of men that chance to get at the helm; or if that helm be sometimes managed by men of sense, abilities, and experience, they become quite different from themselves, the moment they have got into that station, where they only seem intent on doing what they ought to abstain from, and in keeping at a distance from what they ought to perform.

In this manner then, Benares, with all its advantages, was severed from Shudjah-ed-dowlah's dominions, and annexed for ever to the English possessions of Azimabad and Bengal; and in this manner did Djan Bristow work himself into so much influence, that nothing went forwards, and nothing could be transacted in the A8d, the Rohilcund, and the Anterbid, without his own management or special consent. Assel-ed-dowlah

himself, glad to have found a man who so willingly undertook to free him from the burthen of governing, was heard to say several times in an audible voice and in full Court, that Djan Bristow was his brother. "I have left," added he, "the disposal of all affairs to his hands. Let every one be obedient to 'whatever he shall command.' To get rid still more of all cares, he took offence at some of his father's ancient Commanders, and picked up a quarrel with the troops he had disciplined and trained; and fancying that the money spent in keeping up those troops was so much treasure uselessly squandered away, he took measures to get rid of them all, that is, to get rid of his own wings and feathers. This event was brought about in a strange manner.

Shudjah-ed-dowlah had formed a corps of four or five thousand men, composed entirely of gentlemen of ruined families from about Shah-djehan-abad and its environs, to whom he allowed a high pay of fifteen rupees per month, after having put them under the command of Seyd-aaly, an able officer, who accoutred and disciplined them in the English manner. They had only match-locks; but frequent training had rendered them so expert at these, that they fired with them as fast as the others did with flint-muskets; and as that corps applied itself diligently to their duty, and it contained even some men of distinction, the Prince shewed them a particular regard, and seemed to prefer them to his other troops. Assef-ed-dowlah, who seemed bent on discarding every one of those officers that had distinguished themselves in his father's service, and who made it his affair to strip himself of his own wings and feathers, resolved in secret to break this valuable corps. He sent for the whole of them, and ordered them to encamp at some distance from the rest of the army. As soon as they were encamped, an order came to them to return their field-pieces to the park of artillery, and with this order they complied, reserving only one or two pieces at most upon their flanks. An order then came to return these two pieces also, together with their muskets and accoutrements. On this order, the men apprehended that nothing less was meant than to disarm them first, and then to break and disperse them, without paying them their arrears. On this discovery, they answered, that they were ready to return

Senseless  
conduct of  
Assef-ed-  
dowlah.

He disbards  
his father's  
disciplined  
troops, and  
discards his  
best officers.

both the two pieces of cannon and their muskets, but that their arrears must be discharged previously. The Navvab was incensed at this answer, and turning towards M8qhtar-ed-dowlah, he observed that these people were insolent, and deserved immediate chastisement. The Minister answered, that they were His Highness's servant, and seemed to be in the right, as they requested no more than their due, adding, that he did not believe they harboured any other design. Assef-ed-dowlah, displeased at this apology, answered : “*Then I must go myself, if you do not choose to go.*” The Minister reflecting that, whilst the Prince was resolved to fight them in person, it would be improper in himself not to follow his master ; and concluding that a refusal would cast a reflection upon his character, and do much mischief, submitted to the order, although with visible reluctance ; and putting himself at the head of his own troops and of several bodies that joined him, he marched against those poor people. The latter, without being daunted by the sight, ranged themselves in battle, and although their Commander was dead, and they were destitute of Officers, they stood their ground and fought so bravely, that they had repulsed and beaten M8qhtar-ed-dowlah infallibly, had they been properly commanded, or had they been assisted, though ever so little, by some other corps. But the Minister had such a superiority in numbers, artillery, and ammunition, that he prevailed at last, but not without losing an infinity of men, in killed and wounded. The others, now reduced to a very small number, and these too destitute of ammunition, fled, and dispersed every one his own way. A vast number of men, every one Assef-ed-dowlah’s servants, and every one ready to shed their blood for his sake, were uselessly left on the field of this bloody battle, and that senseless man, instead of weeping for the loss, rejoiced at the event, as if his arms had that day gained a great advantage.

This corps being disposed of in this manner, the wise man turned his views to some other disciplined corps, which had been put by his father under the command of his bravest and ablest eunuchs, at the rate of five or six battalions to each, giving the latter English names of military grades, such as those of Colonels and Generals. These were disciplined and trained in the English manner, and had each of them several pieces of

The principal Military Officers think of providing for themselves.

Bessent-qhan, an eunuch, one of them.

He offers to serve his master in killing the Prime Minister.

cannon, well mounted and well served. These eunuchs observing the turn of mind and particular temper of their new master, had every one of them set up a scheme of their own in their heads, and were thinking how to bring it to a completion. One of these was the eunuch Bessent-qhan(55), a man in great credit with his late master, and who indeed richly deserved his confidence for his bravery and abilities; he was therefore too high spirited to crouch to M8qhtar-ed-dowlah, and on all occasions pretended to an equality with him. Hence many bickerings had several times arisen between them, which had been made up by the mediation of common friends. But there happened one at this very time which soured their minds to such a degree, that no reconciliation seemed likely to take place, and on the other hand, the Navvab himself seemed very much cooled with respect to his Minister, whose absolute sway and close connections with Djan Bristow he did not relish at all. And he was thinking how to get himself rid of such an overbearing man, when this inclination of his having been guessed by Bessent, who went by the name of the General, the latter offered his services to the Navvab, his intention being to watch a proper opportunity, and to fall at once upon the Minister. In appearance, he seemed to be actuated by the Navvab's consent, and under his influence, but in fact he had already arranged his project with Mirza-saadet-aaly, and he intended, after having dispatched the Minister, to fall upon the master, with one and the same breath, without giving him time to recollect himself; after which the tragedy would have been finished by placing Mirza-saadet-aaly upon the throne.

This scheme having been fixed upon, Bessent put in motion so many secret resorts, that the breach between him and M8qhtar-ed-dowlah was made up. Friends interposed, apologies were accepted, and a reconciliation upon fresh terms taking place, a treaty was concluded between them, which was confirmed and strengthened by all those false oaths and those feigned protestations that had become current in that faithless Court. This done, he invited the Minister to an entertainment, that is, to pass the whole day in his house, and the night in looking at an exhibition of dances, after which he was to return home at day-break. As

---

(55) Bessent-qhan signifies the Lord Spring.

the Minister's days had been counted, and their term was come, he thoughtlessly accepted the invitation, and repaired to Court, where he obtained leave of absence for one day and night, and then went to Bessent's house. Meanwhile the latter had assembled some friends, in appearance to do honour to his guest. Amongst these were two sons of Mir-bakyr; the one called M8rad-aaly, and the other L8tf-aaly. He informed these of his intention to dispatch the Minister, and he entrusted them with the business. They accepted the proposal, and got themselves ready for the execution. Whilst they were receiving their last orders, the Minister himself arrived with all the pomp customary in that high office. Bessent came out of his house, and standing at the door, he made a profound bow, received the Minister with every demonstration of respect and honor, and carried him to the Hall of Audience, where he made him sit on a Mesned magnificently fitted for the occasion. It must be observed, that as the season was the hottest of the year, most of the principal men of the army and Court had dug apartments underground, to serve as shelter against the excessive sultriness of the weather. These were called ta-qhanas, or heat-houses, and they used to retire in them for the greatest part of the day. Bessent, in imitation of these, had likewise prepared such a subterraneous apartment; but it was with so much expense and elegance, that one would have thought it to have been fitted on purpose for the occasion. The morning growing hot, Bessent proposed to his guest to strip, and descend into the ta-qhana, and the Minister blinded by his destiny, went down. A moment after, Bessent represented how little it was proper in such sultry weather to remain full dressed, and he proposed to strip. The Minister stripped, and sat in an undress. Some of Bessent's most agreeable women were introduced at the same time, elegantly dressed and highly perfumed; so that the Minister's senses were all agreeably struck, and kept occupied at one and the same time. But some of Bessent's intimate friends have informed me in the sequel, that care had been taken to mix poison in the wine which the Minister had just been drinking, and that he could not have escaped by any means, even supposing that he should have not been killed with an armed hand. The entertainment being over, and the sun past the meridian, he thought proper to dismiss

most of his friends to their own homes, and he prepared himself to take a nap, which he did not know to be his last, and in which he was going to be conducted to the Gates of Eternity. By this time none of his friends remained in the house ; or if any, they had, as well as all the servants, stretched themselves in some corner, to take their afternoon nap. At this moment M8rad-aaly with his brother and two or three more, descended in the ta-qhanah, and falling upon him with their sabres, they hacked him to pieces. Some of his servants who happened to be awake, fled instantly, and carried the intelligence to the Minister's quarters. Bessent, at the same time, repaired to camp, where every thing was previously prepared. He took with him some Companies of Talingas, and two pieces of cannon, and without loss of time, he marched on to the Navvab's quarters. The guards and sentinels desired them to stand at a distance, and would admit only Bessent with a few men. He went in, and presenting himself with his drawn sabre before the Navvab, he made his bow, and wished him joy on an execution, that had been compassed by his orders, and had delivered him from his enemy. The Navvab, fearful for his own life, asked him, "*Why he had come with his drawn sabre, and whether he intended to serve him as he had served the other?*" He answered, that he was too grateful a servant to raise his hand upon his good master. "*Then throw away your sabre,*" replied the Navvab. The man, whose last hour was come, had the impudence to throw his weapon away ; which he had no sooner done, than the Navvab making a sign to the people behind the man, they fell upon him and dispatched him in the same manner as he had dispatched the Minister. Whilst this was doing, an uncle of Bessent's, better known under the name of "The Great Mirza," chanced to come to Court, as he often used to do, and seeing his nephew stretched on the ground, he drew his sabre, and cried out : *That if no one had any business with him, he would have no business with any one.*—"No body wishes you ill," said the Navvab, who now feared that his turn was come, "*but please to go out;*" and he at the same time, cried aloud to the people who were without, to let him pass. He, therefore, went out ; but as he offered no injury to any one, (and he was known to be a man of resolution) he was suffered to go home.

The Prime Minister murdered, by Bessent-qhan's management.

Mirza-saadet-aaly, on the first report of M8qhtar-ed-dowlah's death, had armed himself, and mounting his horse, he had repaired straight to the quarters of the Ghossäins(56), who were two of the principal Commanders of the army; but he learnt that Bessent was killed. As he had come to camp armed and mounted, so as to be remarked by every one, he was confounded, and knew not what to do with himself, not daring either to attack the Navvab, or to stay where he was. "*If you will stand by me,*" said he to the Ghossain, "*we shall be able to do great things, and then there will be no command or office above your merit.*" The Ghossain excused himself, and Saadet-aaly, finding his own case desperate, requested of him a horse capable of performing a long voyage in one day. The latter sent for his favourite mare, an animal that would travel thirty or forty cosses in one day, and he desired him to make use of her, and to save his life. The latter mounted, and with no other company than that of his preceptor and tutor, Tefezzul-hossein-qhan, and a few servants, he fled unpursued, and continued his journey as far as the Djumnah; where, crossing over, he arrived safe in Nedjef-qhan's dominions. Nedjef-qhan, hearing of his arrival, mounted, and went out to receive him; after which he carried him to his own Palace, where he gave him a suitable apartment, made him a present of some Districts to defray his expenses, and complimented him with a numerous brigade of some thousands cavalry and infantry. But although he assisted him with the generosity of a Prince, he always behaved to him with the respectful deportment of an ancient servant. He was not pleased that Saadet-aaly should come to pay him visits, but he always went to see him himself, and always shewed him every demonstration of respect and honour. Whenever Saadet-aaly chose to go to him, Mirza-nedjef-qhan used to meet him at the gate of his Palace, where, taking him by the hand, he used to carry him to the hall of audience, and to make him sit on his own Mesned; after which he took his seat at a little distance.

On sight of such proceedings of Assef-ed-dowlah, the Commanders, that had served with distinction under his father,

(56) A Ghossain is a religious, always a Gentoo, who abstains from marriage, and goes naked, or nearly so.

And hand-  
somely re-  
ceived by  
Nedjef-qhan.

became exceedingly suspicious, and every one of them turned his views towards saving himself. But as there remains no employment now in Hindostan for military men, especially since the introduction of Talingas, and a Prince, equally generous and valiant as well as friendly to the soldier, is a being so scarce and so difficult to be found, that it seems that the race of such men has totally disappeared from the face of the earth ; so, all those disgusted Officers, after much uneasiness of mind, were obliged to stay where they were, and to go on with dissembling. One of these Commanders was Mahb8b-aaly-qhan, an eunuch that wanted neither valour nor merit. On observing the conduct of his master's son, he was confounded and at a loss how to act. He commanded a body of about ten or twelve thousand cavalry and infantry, as well as Talingas, armed with flint-locks, and he had been placed by his late master at Atava and Corrah, two places, frontiers to the Marhattas, where he lived in great state, and was much respected by the country. Assef-ed-dowlah who wanted both to ruin and disperse his troops, was nevertheless desirous to prevent his running away, expecting that, forced by the want of employment, he would come with a few friends to throw himself at his feet. The other had no objections, even to that, provided it could be done with safety ; else, he intended to make the best of his way to Nedjef-qhan's army. Assef-ed-dowlah, fearful lest he might carry all his troops with him, conferred on the subject with Djan Bristow, and it was agreed that English troops, under the command of some able Captains, should be secretly sent to seize him ; nor was this scheme imparted to any one else. The reason of his wanting to make away with his old troops, and his most valuable servants, was this :—He dreaded their influence in a country which he had not himself any talent to govern ; for his whole soul was engrossed by the pleasure of serving as porter to the brawnies of his servants ; in having those people perpetually at his elbows by day as well as by night ; and in amusing himself with the childish pastimes of cock-fighting, kite-flying, and the like. He knew that government was a penible business that required the whole of an able man's time. That it was requisite that this able man should be perpetually working himself, and meanwhile inspecting the accounts and conduct of his heads of offices, as well as that

of his Commanders and Ministers, without, however, ceasing to converse perpetually with them. All these he detested, for they were all impossible to him. On the other hand, he knew that he was precisely the man which the English wanted at the head of a sovereignty ; a man incapable of any business at all, save that of enjoying his pleasures ; and sensible that they would never endure patiently that any injury should be done him, he was resolved to leave on their own shoulders the whole burthen of governing, and to reserve for himself only the sweets of it. The English, on their side, who are a shrewd, keen-sighted set of people, let him take his own courses, and even paid a regard to the rank and station of that strange species of favourites with which he was so much enamoured. Without minding their special business with him, they contented themselves with governing with an absolute sway every thing relative to revenue and war, and with disciplining troops, and keeping them at all times in readiness for action. Under the veil of such an imbecile Prince, they are in fact the sole masters of all the revenue-offices, and of all the Districts of the country, as well as of every preparative for war. And what is singular, both parties seem to be satisfied, and pleased with their lot. All that cannot be denied. But it cannot be denied neither, that meanwhile in consequence of such a partition, that house of Shudjah-ed-dowlah, which had been heretofore inhabited by a real Lieutenant of the ancient and glorious Emperors of Hindostan, which had afforded bread and employment to a lac of soldiers and to a thousand eminent Commanders and noblemen ; that house that had constantly presented a sure resource to so many ruined families of the first rank ; that house which seemed a copy in miniature of the Imperial Palace of Hindostan ; that house is now become a den of thieves, and a tavern for the vilest of mankind ; insomuch that it is become impossible to trace out the collateral remains of the families of Saaddet-qhan and Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, and of some other illustrious families. And yet it is undeniable that Shudjah-ed-dowlah, the last of those families had afforded a subsistence to twenty or thirty thousand horse, and to fifty or sixty thousand foot ; that his camp afforded fortunes to a multitude of merchants, and a ready livelihood to an infinity of handicrafts-men ; and that it bore all the appearance

of an Imperial camp. Now, how fallen! His Capital looks like a deserted village, with here and there some wretched, famished, inhabitants; and if any men in good plight appear anywhere in some houses in repair, rest assured that they are no others than a few Bacsariah soldiers and officers: a set of men from Bodjep8r and Bacsar, who, sometime before this revolution had taken place, thought themselves very happy to obtain two or three rupees per month. But if they be not Bacsariahs, then rest assured that they must be either Palace chairmen and servants, or elephant drivers.

"O take warning ye, that are endowed with eyes!"

To return to our narrative. The English Captains, after having received their instructions, departed at the head of three or four battalions of Talingas, and they approached Mahb8b-aaly-qhan's army, as if intending to go forwards. Being arrived close, they sent him a message, informing him that they would be glad to pay him a visit. Mahb8b did not object, and the visit was returned. I know not how the English managed to get into the town; for Mahb8b resided in it, although his army and artillery were encamped without. Three or four days after, the English having at the latter part of the night ranged their men and cannon as for an immediate engagement, were a little before day-break close upon Mahb8b's camp, where people proved either fast asleep, or gone out of camp, for their necessities; a few only excepted, that served as sentries, a word which amongst the English, signifies watchmen. These, in compliance with their rules, challenged them, and forbade their coming nearer. The English troops, not regarding the order, marched up; when some English Officers advanced within the camp, and said that they wanted to go forwards, and that there was no other road than through this camp. The others answered that they must take another road. The English Officers returned, and advancing at the head of a body of troops, fired into the camp, where by this time some people were in readiness; but where most of the others being either wounded or slain, the rest fled on all sides, leaving their cannon, arms, and baggage to the conqueror. Mahb8b-aaly-qhan, now finding how matters went, and that there remained no other party for him but that of submission, availed himself of the treat

The English  
lend their  
assistance.

that had intervened between the English Officers and himself ; and taking his leave of them, he assembled his baggage and friends, and repaired to Court, where Assef-ed-dowlah, who wanted him just in that condition, shewed him much kindness, and gave him a pension.

There was then in those quarters another eunuch of rank and station ; it was Letafet-aaly-qhan, who went by the name of the C8midan(57), and, in fact, commanded a whole brigade of three or four battalions. This man, hearing how the others had been used, wanted to save his life and to secure himself ; and as he knew that Shudjah-ed-dowlah was by treaty obliged to keep a body of troops at the Emperor's Court, and he heard that a person was wanted for such a service, he offered himself, thinking it lucky enough to emerge at such a rate. Putting therefore in play certain powerful resorts which he knew, and distributing his money properly, he obtained that office, and departing at the head of his troops, he arrived at Court, where he paid his respects to the Emperor. After which he repaired to Nedjef-qhan's, to whom he found means to render himself so agreeable, as well as to his principal Commanders, that to this day he lives in plenty and dignity. It was at this time also, that the two brothers of M8qhtar-ed-dowlah, who were too incapable to do any thing for themselves, were arrested and confined. Their property and furniture, as well as that of their late brother, was seized and confiscated. But their misfortune did not end there. They were, as well as some of his friends and servants, exposed for a length of time to a variety of hardships, until it being found that nothing was to be had from them, they were set at liberty. And what is singular, a Djaghir of a lac of rupees a year was settled on M8qhtar-ed-dowlah's son, his daughter, and his consort, for their subsistence(58) ; and it was by managing that estate for them that those two wretched men found means to support themselves. They were yet under

---

(57) Commandant.

(58) As the author, who had been inquisitive and circumstantial enough in other matters, is intirely silent as to this *Hors-d'-Euvre*, which is utterly dissonant from what has followed or preceded, one is inclined to believe that this pension of a lac of rupees, which so unexpectedly pops upon us, must have been in consequence of an injunction from the Supreme Council of Calcutta, which then remembered the gift of the Province of Benares.

confinement, when I, the poor man, arrived at Lucknow, where I found that Assef-ed-dowlah, with all his Court, and Mr. Djan Bristow, with all the English Grandees and Commanders had taken up their final residence. The whole Court, as well as the whole army, was there, and there remained no person of consequence at Feizabad but two Princesses. The one was the Navvab Begum, daughter of Saadet-qhan, consort to Ab8lmans8r-qhan, and mother to Shudjah-ed-dowlah; the other was Bho8-begum(59), consort to that Prince, and daughter to the famous Mahmed-issaac-qhan. These two virtuous Princesses, displeased with Assef-ed-dowlah's conduct and way of life, and attached to a city and Palace that had been built under their eyes and for their residence, by those three successive Princes, would not part with their habitations, but remained where they were.

Let it not pass unnoticed that Shah-djehan-abad was the native place of me, the poor man, as well as that of my father and mother, and of all my paternal and maternal ancestors(60). The former descended from the posterity of Hassen(61), by a branch sprung from Hibrahim, one of those who received the surname of Tebateba, and who shone amongst the most illustrious of that holy race. He quitted the illuminated city of Medina, and came and took up his residence at the sepulchre of that glorious martyr, Aaly, the Rezevian (upon whom may honour and grace rest for ever!). His descendants resided for a long series of ages upon that holy spot(62), watched by Angels, when one of them repaired to Hindostan, where he took up his abode, first in Delhi, and then in Shah-djehan-abad. The maternal ancestors of this the humblest of men, were Seyds of the

(59) This name signifies nothing else but the *Princess's daughter-in-law*, as the other signifies the *reigning Princess*.

(60) This change of subject, which might have been introduced to what precedes by an easy transition, has been left as it was, to give the reader a specimen of the desultory and incoherent style in which are written all histories in Asia.

(61) The Prophet gave his daughter, Fatema, to Aaly, his cousin, who had from her, Hassen, who died poisoned at Medina, and Hossein, the Persian idol, who was slain, or who died with thirst in the battle of Kerbelah, near Bagdad. It is from these two brothers that descend or pretend to descend, the thousands and ten thousands that style themselves in India and Persia, Hasseni-Seyds and Hosseini-Seyds.

(62) Tooss is the name of that glorious spot or city, a name little known but in books; the word Mesh-hed or *Martyr's Sepulchre* having taken its place universally.

M8ssevian branch, descended from that illustrious stock, Seyd-ahmed, son to M8ssa, grandson to Djaafer (upon all whom be peace for ever!), who is so renowned in Shiraz, the Capital of Pars(63), under the appellation of Shah-Chiragh(64), and where his tomb is extremely resorted to from all parts, by persons of all nations, numbers of whom daily have their prayers and supplications accepted; and that acceptance signified by

---

(63) That part of Iran called Pars, *alias Persis*, in Greek books; nor is the reader to lose sight of the word Parsa, or Persa, or Persian, which the Greeks, through ignorance of its meaning, gave to the whole nation, as a national name, whereas it was only an epithet which the Iranians gave themselves in opposition to the Greeks, whom they called Idolaters, and to the Arabians, whom they styled Astrolaters; the word *Parsa* signifying only *Pure*; *serving God*; *faithful*; just as the Ottomans to this day call their Empire, *the faithful country*, and their nation, *the nation of faithfus*. *Saltanet Islamiah*, *Millet Islamiah*.

(64) We are much obliged to the author for his informing us who this Shah-Chiragh or Saint Lamp can be; a Saint held in so high veneration in India, that always a prayer is addressed to him (but not to God) whenever a Lamp is lighted in the evening in a house. Nevertheless, one is strongly inclined to believe that here, as in many other occurrences, two distinct worships have been blended into one: that of St. Lamp, with that of the real Lamp, called holy, out of respect. For amongst the many similarities one daily discovers between the religion of the ancient Persians, and that of the modern Indians, a high veneration for the Sun is one, as well as for its two substitutes, fire and a lamp. In this last article, Mussulmen and Gentoos equally agree, *to wit*, in the prayer to the Lamp, and in welcoming it in a room with a respectful gait of the body. Those that make so much noise about a few miracles performed in an ignoble corner of the world, and recorded, if at all, by two or three ignoble men, long ago dead and buried, will do well to consider how they are to manage against thousands and ten thousands of living men of all ages, abilities, and opinions, and even sects, who all agree in recording the miracles they have seen last year, in such large populous Capitals, as Shiraz and Mesh-hed; miracles for the sake of which they are ready, if necessary, to cut the throats of every Englishman, and to be slaughtered themselves into the bargain. Persians are as willing to suffer martyrdom for the light of the Saint Portico, as are Greeks for the light of the Saint Sepulchre. Nay, the latter sometimes actually suffer it; and whilst we were in Mecca in 1770, we were informed by numbers of persons that two Greeks coming red-hot out of the holy sepulchre with the celestial fire in their hands, were rallied by two soldiers, when these men, at all times so submissive and crouching, but now become enthusiasmed, having answered by the most insulting language against the Mussulman Law and against the Prophet, became guilty of a capital crime. Life was offered them by the Governor, if they would atone for their offence, by becoming proselytes, and this having been constantly refused by both, for three days together, they were both sent to execution, to the great regret of the Judge, who related this affair himself, and said that he had to no purpose advised them to counterfeit themselves insane, or to say that they were drunk when they had quarrelled with the soldiers.

miracles stupendous, and innumerable are those prodigies that have ever been, and are to this day, performed under their eyes. Nor is there any thing more notorious all over the world, than that torrent of light that is endlessly pouring from his glorious portico. One of his posterity came to settle in Hindostan, from whom was descended Seyd-zin-el-abdin, my maternal grandfather, who was son to Aaly-verdy-qhan's aunt. At his death his mother undertook to put Seyd-zin-el-abdin's orders into execution, which were to marry, as soon as possible, her daughter, who was mother to the poor man; and this being performed, she retired to her house, where she lived seven years, upon the savings which her husband had made in Azm-shah's service, before he had so unfortunately quitted it. I came into the world about this time, being the year 1740, at Shah-djehanabad, and was followed two years after by my brother, Seyd-aaly-naky-qhan. I was five years old, and my brother was three, when my grandmother, having sold her house at Shah-djehanabad, quitted that city, and taking with her both her two daughters, and her two sons-in-law, as well as her whole family, she repaired to M8rsh8d-abad, in Bengal, where Aaly-verdy-qhan was then, in Shudjah-qhan the Nazem's service, and where she recommended to her nephew the families of her two daughters. Fortune commencing to favour our family, Aaly-verdy-qhan was in a few days after appointed Governor-General of Azimabad, whither my father followed him, where he settled, and where our family has to this day, that is to the year 1795, lived in affluence, dignity, and splendor; for the houses we had bought, and the lands we had acquired by purchase, gift, or otherwise, during Aaly-verdy-qhan's administration, and by his favor, are to this day in our possession, thank God! Unluckily I happened, in the year 1788, to stand security for a zemindar, who had these many years the highest obligations to me, and from whom I was very far from expecting such a return, and so much perfidy, and being unexpectedly called upon by Government to pay sixty thousand rupees in his stead, fain I was to comply with my obligation, and to sell my jewels and plate, to the amount of thirty-one thousand rupees, making up the balance by borrowing it from a banker; and in this manner I got out of the hands of some English, and especially of the M8tsuddies and revenue-officers, who seemed

but to wait for a signal to come to hostilities with me. I was obliged to put into the banker's hands, as a security, the Altumgah of land which I possessed, and to look out for a new livelihood; nor was this to be had anywhere, after a very troublesome enquiry. At last it pleased fortune to raise up, for our benefit, General Goddard, a man of a merit so notorious as to need no praise, and of so much benevolence to me, the poor man, and, indeed, to all Indians in general, that hardly such another character can be found among the English. He happened to be appointed Governor of Chennar-gur, and to make some stay at Azim-abad. As I was an old acquaintance of his, I went to see him, and he had the goodness to enquire after my circumstances, and to hear, with apparent concern, the catastrophe that had undone my family. "*I am sorry to hear all that,*" said he, "*but as I see no employment for you here, you had better come with me, and we shall live upon what we can get.*" I accepted the proposal, looking upon it to be one of the secret resources which had been kept in store by Providence for me; and in a few days I got myself ready, and followed him to Chennar. It was soon found out that the post in question was no more what it had been, in point of emolument, and did not defray the expenses incident to his station; but as it afforded his commisseration a proper field, he committed to my care whatever concerned the revenue matters of that town. Not satisfied with that, he appointed for my lodgings a house that had been fitted up for himself, and sent his own boats, amongst which was his own budgerow, (a vessel comparable to a house, for both spaciousness and commodity) to fetch my family and consort. When they arrived, he gave them a pension of three hundred rupees per month, and commanded his butler to furnish me with as many wax-candles as I should call for. After supplying me in this manner with every thing necessary to a beggar, he used to receive my visits with the utmost distinction, as of an equal. I have already observed that his income at Chennar was much below his expenditure. So that hearing at that time that Assef-ed-dowlah, dissatisfied with his old troops, had dismissed them all, and wanted to raise and discipline new ones, at the head of which he wished to place some English Colonel, he conceived that such an employment would better suit his

temper than the stationary life he led at Chennar, and that it would prove likewise more profitable to both himself and me. But as he had no acquaintance with Mr. Djan Bristow, and he did not think proper to make such a request in his own name, he asked my opinion about the matter. I proposed that he should give me a letter of recommendation to another Englishman, a friend of Mr. Bristow, to whom by that means I would find a ready introduction, with an opportunity of sounding the ford without compromising his name. This he approved; and giving me the intended letter, he wished me a good journey. I left at Chennar my family, consort, children and dependants, and with a few attendants only, I set out for Féiz-abad and Luckow. As the city of Djonp8r was in my way, on my arrival there, I heard that it had become the residence of the venerable and illustrious, our Lord and teacher, Seyd-mahmed-askery, (whose spirit may God Almighty keep for ever refreshed!) a noble personage, renowned for learning and sanctity; and of whom I had heard so much at Chennar by his zealous disciple, Seydmoluvy-zafer-aaly, (whom God may continue to illumine in the other world as he did in this!) that I sent to desire leave to pay him a respectful visit. Being admitted, I spent two whole hours in his company; and having heard from his own mouth a conversation which seemed a compendium of all his excellencies, I departed glad to my heart, and fully satisfied that fame in her encomiums had fallen short of what I had seen with my own eyes, and heard with my own ears. And to this day, I remember that illustrious personage with so much respect, that I think it proper to suspend the relation of my own voyage, in order to afford the reader a glimpse into the many excellencies of that illustrious character.

He was of a family of Seyds that ranked these many ages with the principal and most respected ones of the city of Djonp8r.

" This Seyd of virtuous disposition

" Had wrote a book of practical morality;

" All the rules of which he did extract from his own practice,

" Very different in that from those who write of morality and lead a sinful life.

" His dialectic was such, that it seemed to flow from the fountain of science itself;

" His advices and counsels were so many remedies against sickness and sorrow;

" His beams emitted, in every direction, torrents of light;

" And his very nod or other sign seemed to teem with some secret."

Although he was an assemblage of all the arts and sciences, he spoke with so much modesty, that whilst every one was retiring from his company with some kind of benefit in his own way, he was praising him as a man of a rare deportment. He lived contented upon a small income, without intending or expecting any thing more. But although he had not learned the sciences in the order they are taught, nor in the manner usual amongst students, he had found means to supply by the keenness of intelligence and the extent of perspicuity, all that might have been wanted from explanation in the knowledge of words ; and in the elucidation of sense. By the force of his own genius, he had made himself a repository of all the sciences, practical and intellectual ; insomuch that no difficulty in the word, no obscurity in the sense, could stop or embarrass him. No wonder then, if his house was resorted to by all the learned persons of that city and neighbourhood, and by numbers who perpetually travelled thither from far and near, being either learned themselves, or desirous of learning and knowledge.

## VERSES FROM HAFYZ.

" My beauteous one, who has never been in a school, or can write a single letter,  
" Has, with a single nod of his, told me more than a hundred professors  
" would explain."

The natural turn of his genius was modesty. So little inclined was he to deprecate the merit due to others, that he was studious to depress and conceal his own.

## VERSES FROM HAFYZ.

" I admire that character under the blue canopy of heaven,  
" Which can still remain free, whatever its influence may be."

" He gave his time to reading lectures, which is the noblest  
" of all occupations. The noblest and most pleasing of all being  
" to bring to light the treasures of hidden knowledge; and in this  
" he had no sordid view. His intention being only to obey his  
" master's injunctions."

## VERSES FROM SHEH BEHAI.

" A moral sentence, pronounced in a place of debauch,  
" Has the full effect of incense burned—against bad air and a malignant eye.  
" That virtuous man's manner was not like that of the puffed ones of this age.  
" Amongst so many beauteous ones, I am in love with thy particular air;  
" I am mad with it; else, there is plenty of beauty elsewhere.  
" To make a parade of one's learning, he thought to be a very vile action,  
" And thought that an excellence that produces only pride and vanity, amounts  
" to a satire upon the owner."

## VERSES FROM EURFI.

"To forget the virtuous actions of a worthy man,  
 "And to keep a register of his blemishes and vices,  
 "Is all that can be expected from self-applause and hypocrisy."

Whenever any one introduced in his presence a discourse in dispraise of a man's character, either directly, or indirectly, he had too much good manners to stop him, or to reprimand him, but would adroitly turn the discourse to some other object, without affording the speaker any subject of offence.

## VERSES FROM QHACANI.

"Spreading as grateful a scent in his conversation as a pod of China musk<sup>(65)</sup>,  
 "But as solidly full of science as an Indian nutmeg is of aromatic inatter."

He recounted himself the following story, which does him a great deal of honour :—

I have no objection, said he, to the reputation and high character of Sheh-sadr-djehan, *alias* Mia-angn8, who is deservedly acknowledged for one of the ablest and most learned professors of the age, and had a particular talent in polemic writing ; but who having in time acquired a turn of mind for dispute, had become an enthusiast, and seemed only to look out for an adversary. I had, said he, a great deal of regard for him., and he, on his side, seemed fonder of my society, than of that of any other. Being one day in his house, I amused myself with perusing some parts of Mir Hussëin's book, (on whom may mercy repose for ever !) and as Mia-angn8 knew of my being a Shya, he stopped my reading, and said, come let us sit down together, and examine which of the two sects is the right one, the Shyas, or the Sunnies. But as he was superior to me, not only in knowledge and learning, but also in years, I answered with much respect and deference, that it did not become me to dispute with a person in every respect my superior, and that I was not likely to come off with honor in so unequal a contest. For all reply he repeated his request, and I repeated my excuse ; but he continued to intreat me so earnestly, that for fear of giving offence, I was obliged to seem to enter the lists, and after having added, that it little became me to stand a dispute against such a master as he, unless it might be in submission to his own pleasure, I observed that to try the question by the revealed word of God

(65) Those who have not seen a pod of musk, will be glad to hear that although ever so replenished, which few are, it is full of inequalities that decele empty parts.

itself in the Coran, and by the sayings of the Prince of Envys, was not without difficulties, as the first was full of many obscure passages, whilst the latter might be accused of sophification ; but that I believed the matter in dispute might be reduced at once to this plain question : “ *Whether the most excellent of the sons of men, after the Prophet himself, was Ab8-bekr, son to Ab8-cohafa, or Aaly, son to Ab8-taleb(66) ?* ” That this being once determined, the matter would come to a conclusion of itself, and that it depended upon him to determine it, independently of the word of God, and of the sayings of His Prophet. Now as there is in the world such a variety of matters that indicate the qualities, the attributes, and the workmanship of God, I ask where and how we are to find out which of these branches of knowledge is the highest and the noblest? At these words, he paused a little, and answered, that the noblest and highest of them was the knowledge of God. It is so indeed, replied I, and no man in his senses will deny it. Now amongst these various branches of knowledge of God, which is the noblest and highest? Here he paused again, and answered, the knowledge of the attributes of God. Now, replied I, there are extant several messages, speeches, sentences of Aaly’s, about the unity and the other sublime qualities of God. Do you know any of Ab8-bekr’s? I should be glad to hear them. Here he fetched a deep sob, and answered, “ *That to this day he had been sunk in ignorance and darkness, and had not been aware of the truth ;* ” and I thank “ God,” added he, “ *that I have got it at last by being in your company. It is you that have converted me.* ”

But all conversion comes from God. That illustrious Seyd at that moment was heard to drop some enigmatical verses about Aaly, which is worth our while to repeat. Here they are :

“ On looking at the innermost recesses of my heart,  
 “ I have found Aaly himself, and nothing but Aaly.  
 “ The love of him is consuming my heart, and it says it is no pain ;  
 “ I sink my head in his bosom, and my heart says it is no great proof of love.  
 “ The rose besprinkled with the dew is inferior to the beauty of his face,  
 “ And the sweat that drops from it is a pure refreshing water that cools my  
 “ visage.”

---

(66) Ab8-bekr was the protector of Mahomet, and also a relation of his, and he became his first successor. Aaly was his cousin, and he became his fourth successor ; but he had been no more than the best soldier in the Prophet’s army.

This venerable man died at the age of seventy, in the year 1195 of the Hedjra, and he repaired from this fragile world to the mansions of eternity. The words, *May God keep cool the place of his repose!* (67) contain his chronogram. May God Almighty join him to the assembly of his pious ancestors, upon whom all be greeting and grace !

To return to my voyage. Being arrived at Lucknow, I was introduced to Mr. Djahn Bristow, to whom I explained the subject of my voyage, informing him at last of General Goddard's intention. He gave his consent, and after having obtained that of the Navvab Assef-ed-dowlah, he wrote to the Council on the subject. After sometime the consent of Council came likewise, and he sent for me to inform me of it. Happy to find how my journey had been successful, I put an end to it, and quitted Lucknow, previously informing the General of the success of my negotiation. But he had been already fully informed, having received the orders of the Supreme Council thereon, and he had set out immediately by the post for Lucknow, leaving budgerows, boats, and harcarahs, and his own moonshy, or Persian Secretary, with orders to bring up my consort and family from Chennar-gur. So great was his kindness for me, and so great his solicitude for whatever concerned by well-being. He had likewise the attention to send me notice of his departure, and of the orders he had left. This letter he entrusted to a sensible messenger of his, who had orders to look out for me on the road; and to give me the letter wherever he could get of my tidings. The letter came to hand, when I was already arrived at Djonp8r. Fain I was then to return to Lucknow, and to embark with my family, which I also found there; and I remained at Lucknow ten months more, my voyage having lasted in all fourteen months, in which time that generous man had assisted me with sums to the amount of ten thousand rupees. I lived happy with him; and the time was come for his being employed, when my scheme, always dependent on his own, came to be overset entirely. Mr. Djan Baistow was recalled, and Mr. Middleton was sent to Assef-ed-dowlah's Court in his stead; and this gentleman, with whom the General had connections, and from whose friendship

---

(67) This is an Arabic appreication, often inscribed upon tomb-stones, and often in the mouth of those that visit burying grounds.

and concurrence he expected every thing, came to declare himself against the scheme he had set up. A disunion succeeded, and a riveted coldness took place between the two friends ; and myself being now become sensible of the consequence of such a mutual dissatisfaction, I took my leave and returned to Azimabad.

I was yet at Lucknow, when it was thought necessary to give a successor to the murdered Minister. No person in that multitude of courtiers and Grantees having been found capable of such an office, it was thought proper to recur to Iredj-qhan, whom we have mentioned to have retreated to Delhi after Shudjah-ed-dowlah's death, on pretence of renewing the treaties with Shah-aalem and Mirza-nedjef-qhan. Assef-ed-dowlah, being in want of his assistance, wrote him a letter full of expressions of esteem and kindness, requesting his immediate attendance. Iredj-qhan, who made no great account of his master's protection, on which he reposed very little confidence, wrote to Djan Bristow, who was the acting Minister in Assef-ed-dowlah's dominions, and he informed him, that amongst several other conditions, which he pointed out, he wanted a safe conduct for his person, honor, and fortune : a safe conduct subscribed by himself, and without which he would not move from the place in which he actually was. This request was no sooner made, than it was complied with ; and he arrived at Lucknow, where having been invested with all the office and all the authority of Prime Minister, he was immediately complimented with a rich Qhylaat, a military music, a fringed paleky, a lofty elephant, and all the other insignia of authority and command. As he harboured a secret resentment against M8qhtar-ed-dowlah, and several persons of his family, he commenced the exercise of his office by giving a severe reprimand to the two brothers of the deceased, and by ordering them into a rigorous confinement, where they were kept for a length of time, and from whence they were not released until after he had wrung from them by dint of violence and ill-usage every thing which could be extorted. This rigorous usage did not fail to concern my natural sensibility. I thought it incumbent upon me to pay some regard to the title of Seyd, which they bore in common with me, (although I am but the last of mankind), and to shew

The Author  
resumes his  
narrative of  
public events.

Iredj-qhan,  
Prime Minis-  
ter of Luck-  
now.

some respect for certain connections which had subsisted between the deceased and my house ; for we were both descended from families of the Tebatebah branches, and I therefore exerted my little influence in behalf of the two afflicted brothers, but all to no purpose. The Ministers's power, however, proved of short duration, and some time after, a Djaghîr of one lac of rupees was settled on the deceased's son, consort, and daughter ; the management of which estate afforded likewise a subsistence to the two brothers. It afforded them also the opportunity of coming sometime to Court, and paying their respects to Assef-ed-dowlah and his Ministers ; but otherwise they lived in retirement and silence. And this little incident brings to our recollection a nephew of these persecuted brothers, who after having once cut a great figure in the deceased's time, had in the sequel come to Azimabad, where he had a lease of the Pergunnahs or Districts of Sanda and Beliah. He was a great friend of mine, and we were greatly attached to each other. This was Mahmed-aaly-qhan. Finding me unexpectedly at Lucknow, he used to visit me as often as he could, and always took care to make long visits. He was then exerting himself to obtain some preferment, and observing how much I was considered by General Goddard, he wanted to avail himself of my interest, and complained much of the avarice and want of sense of M8qhtar-ed-dowlah's two brothers, as well as of the eunuch that governed the deceased's family ; nor did he ascribe his ill-success to any but to them.

After having spoke so much of the Ministers of the Court of Lucknow, I must say something more of the private life of its Prince, and must acknowledge that although I had frequent opportunities of conversing with Assef-ed-dowlah, and examining his behaviour, he did not appear destitute of sense ; and this, after all, is nothing but what has been said in times of yore by the famous Teacher(68), (on whom may grace and mercy repose for ever !) in his renowned Mesnevi :

“ The hawk's keen-sight and his strength of pinion, as well as the genius of man,  
“ Are all so many gracious gifts of the Almighty Artist upon His own work.”

---

(68) This famous teacher is Mo8lana, Djelaleddin, a Turk of Natolia, who wrote, in elegant Persian verses, a Treatise of Ethics, known under the title of Mesnevi-romi, or the Roman or Turkish Mesnevi : a book held in the highest esteem all over the East, where it is in general sung in companies, or read in a psalmodying manner. The translator has an excellent portrait of this elegant

For although he seemed not destitute of sense, yet his company was composed of the scum of mankind, where, however, one might discover here and there a man of birth, as well as a vile contemptible wretch. He seemed intent only on pastimes, amusements, dances, music, and pleasures ; in which sports he spent his time without the least regard to decency or any sense of shame. As to those infamous secret practices to which he had the meanness to addict himself without either scruple or remorse, and with such a feminine ardour, he managed so that there appeared no trace of them either in his discourses or in his public behaviour ; insomuch that he might have been taken for a man quite stranger to that way of life. It was remarked that although he sometimes would throw his handkerchief to the stoutest of his musqueteers or to the brawniet of his archers, yet such digressions affected but little the whole tenor of his life ; nor would an unacquainted man have taken him to be that strange being who delighted in making himself a porter to those Talingas of his, who by their continual attendance on his person, were called his Orderlies. Every morning, as far as twelve o'clock, was spent in going from garden to garden, and from seat to seat, where he amused himself in looking at his elephants, and every third day he made them fight together. This pastime, and that of retiring in cool shady places with his Orderlies, and some other people of the same stamp, all people skilled in those practices so delicious to him, engrossed his whole soul. But there was another article in which he seemed to take a pleasure, and this was promoting marriages. Salar-djung, his uncle, had promised one of his daughters to M8qhtar-ed-dowlah for his son, but the match had been broke off by the latter's disgrace and death. Assef-ed-dowlah being informed of it, prevailed by dint of intreaties on the bride's father to go on with the match, and not content with that, he undertook to

---

writer, which must have been copied from an original painted after the life, or from an excellent copy, as no Indian painter can be supposed to know any thing of the dress worn in those days by the Turks (400 years ago), nor of the particular style of trimming their beards, nor of the particular turbant of a Turkish man of the law, still less of the appearance which a man cuts when pinched with cold, and wrapped in furs. There are two or three Mesnevis more by other hands, but by no means in so high estimation.

furnish the whole expense of the ceremony, which he accordingly did, and with a deal of pomp and magnificence. His disposition was so inclined to such scenes, that whenever he heard of any match being upon the carpet, he sent his compliments to the parents, undertook to perform the part of one, and appointed one of his courtiers to perform the part of the other; nor would he give over his attendance, until the match was brought to a full conclusion. He once undertook the marriage of Caïm-qhan, superintendent of his elephants, and I, the poor man, happening to be present, received His Highness's commands to attend personally, and to perform my part.

We have observed how addicted he was to pleasures, which none but women could have thought of. He had also all the fickleness of a woman. Amongst the slave-boys bred in Shudjah-ed-dowlah's house, there was one called Imam-baqsh, a man very quarrelsome and of the worst morals and behaviour in the world. Whilst Assef-ed-dowlah was yet a youth, this fellow had found means to elope to him, and to become one of his favourites, in that particular style to which he was a slave; but the father informed of his retreat, and of the perpetual insolencies and excesses the upstart committed on account of the favor he enjoyed, he ordered him to be confined in irons, in which to all appearance he would have remained, had not some principal Commanders supplicated His Highness to dismiss and banish him, a request which was granted. The man fled to Tanda, where he kept himself concealed, and from whence he found means to keep a correspondence with his young master, who, on his father's demise, made haste to send him letters of recall. To the amazement of all, he introduced him into high offices, and as by the death of M8qhtar-ed-dowlah, and the resignation of Mahb8b-qhan, there were several bodies of Talingas left without Commanders, and which amounted to about thirty or forty thousand men, besides four or five thousand horse, he gave him the command of that whole army. So thoughtless a promotion could not but raise the indignation and discontent of every officer in the army, as well as the jealousy of every man in his dominions. This man by these means was raised to a degree of power, to which the ambition of no Commander of the army, and no Grandee of the Court had yet aspired I

A worthless  
slave-boy  
made Gener-  
alissimo.

remember to have been several times in his company, and to have had some conversation with him; and I can protest that I never saw anything so vile and so vicious; nothing so destitute of all shame, either in words or actions. He seemed to be fitted for the station of a menial servant at two rupees per month, and this, too, on condition that he should mend his vicious way of life.

"He was very dear even at that price; for he was worth nothing at all,  
"to tell you the truth."

In fact, he was richly deserving to keep a shop of Bang(69). And yet this man's favour and power rose to such a height, that no less a man than Hassen-reza-qhan, the Minister, was afraid of his influence, and strove to be upon good terms with him. Whilst he was in the middle of so much power and grandeur, Assef-ed-dowlah's heart changed at once with respect to him, and a few days after my departure from Lucknow, he became so sick of his company and person, that he ordered him to be banished his dominions, half naked, and on foot, forbidding any one to give him clothes or any carriage whatsoever. Guards were sent to his lodgings, and his whole property was confiscated. From that day no tidings were ever heard of him.

After all these confiscations, it was strange enough to see Assef-ed-dowlah betray the utmost aversion against parting with any of his money, unless it was to pay the pensions due to his Orderlies. Whenever any one besides made bold to ask his pay or his arrears from him, he from that moment became his enemy; nor could he bear to hear of such a demand, and he was ever after ready to shed his blood. Sometime before my arrival at Lucknow, several officers and others had gone in a body, and had asked and received their arrears. Many of these had the wisdom to disappear immediately, but some others having ventured to tarry, were all seized sometime after, and all blown at a gun; and this execution happened during my stay in that

---

(69) A shop of Bang may be kept with a capital of no more than two shillings, or one rupee. It is only some mats stretched under some tree, where the Bangeras of the town, that is, the vilest of mankind, assemble to drink Bang. This is a potion made of the sommities of dried male-hemp, which has a most ugly green appearance, and possesses such intoxicating charms, that there is no parting any more with it, when a man has once used it for a couple of weeks. But in two years' time it always reduces a man to a skeleton, and stupifies his mind totally.

city. It frightened all the world ; so that a few days after the Ghossain Fakyr, a Commander of character and importance, having spied a favourable moment, quitted the camp, and with his arms and baggage marched across the country, and reached Nedjef-qhan's army, with whom he took service ; and in the same manner, all the descendants and relations of Saadet-qhan and Ab8l-mans8r-qhan found means, one after another, to quit Lucknow and to repair to Nedjef-qhan's camp.

We have mentioned that Iredj-qhan had been sent for and entrusted with the whole management of Assef-ed-dowlah's affairs as his Prime Minister. This man shewed himself at once capable of his office. He commenced bringing the finances into order, and little by little, both the high and the low accustomed themselves to look up to him as to their centre. In a conference with Djan Bristow, that omnipotent man, he asked him, "*What business he could possibly have with the Government, and with the affairs of those countries? A sum of money is yearly due to you by treaty for the maintenance of your Brigade. Do receive that money from me, but meddle no more with any thing. Keep yourself on the footing on which you, as Agent from the Company, have been placed by the treaty subsisting between your Government and Shudjah-ed-dowlah's family; but if you go one step further, I inform you that your pretensions shall be imparted to the Supreme Council, and that your conduct in those countries shall undergo a discussion there between you and me.*" Djan Bristow, little accustomed to such a style, repented his having been so earnest in sending for such a man, and he was examining how he ought to manage with him, when the Minister fell into a bad habit of body. His natural heat by degrees forsook him, and his distemper turned out to be a confirmed dropsy ; so that after lingering a month and some days, he departed this life. After his death, both Assef-ed-dowlah and Mr. Djan Bristow were anxious to appoint a fit man to such an office, and they both turned their eyes on Hassen-reza-qhan. This nobleman had once been Superintendent of Shudjah-ed-dowlah's kitchen-office, and on that account he was a little known to Assef-ed-dowlah ; insomuch that, for some time he was preferred to all others for carrying messages to Mr. Djan Bristow. Being therefore admitted to secret conferences with both parties, he

Iredj-qhan is  
sent for, and  
made Prime  
Minister.

The Prime  
Minister dies.

had acquired some credit, and both thought of conferring the office of Naib or Deputy upon him. But he was so slothful and indolent, so averse from entering into conversation with the heads of office and other men of business, (without which, however, there is no governing), so addicted to his pleasures and repose, and in imitation of his master, so averse from all kinds of business, that he declined himself that high office. The by-standers themselves, who knew his genius to the bottom, could not understand why they persecuted the poor man, to make him a Minister at any rate, and to load him with an office of which he was utterly incapable. God knows for what reasons, Mr. Djan Bristow had resolved, not only on keeping this poor man in office against his own will, as a Deputy to a Prime Minister, invisible, but also on appointing another Deputy to him for the purpose of executing the penible part of the office. This able man was found out for him by his friend and favourite, Ismail-beg, a Persian(70), who was one of the shrewdest, most artful,

Is succeeded  
by Hassen-  
reza-qhan, a  
very indolent  
man.

(70) Our Author, who has so inadvertently made himself liable to much censure by the double part he has in his own narrative acted in many places, and especially at the Siege of Patna by Shah-aalem, speaks with great partiality against some men of whom he cannot have had but a transient view. These men are three in number. We know them personally these fifteen or twenty years, and suppose that they are all three our friends, but two of them are certainly so. Nevertheless, so different is our opinion from his, that some years ago we mentioned them as the only men of genius and universal abilities, who had ever been seen in Bengal under a turbant. These were Mirza-cazen-qhan, the friend of Lord Clive, Aga-ismail-shoraw (or Saltpetre), the man spoken of here, and Seyd Mahmed-qhan, now at Benares.\* These three men might by an attentive government, be put to any use. They would prove shrewd negotiators, able Governors, great Accomptants, good military Commanders, and counsellors, universally informed. Every one of them has come in distress in India, and has been the artisan of his own fortune; and were a thorough disaster to befall them again, they would make no difficulty to trudge on foot, to curry their own horses, to sew their own clothes, to mend their own saddles, and to cook their own victuals. Aga-ismail-shoraw, in particular, is a sincere man, and a steadfast zealous friend. He once came to us at Lucknow, where he mentioned to have just seen the lady of an Englishman, which had taken a liking to the Hindostany dress, and was just wearing it that morning; upon which we put several questions to him about the style of her dress and jewels, all which he answered, and we had a great deal of jocular talk on that subject, and also on the dress of some other ladies. But having, by mere chance, and without any malice at all, asked what stuff her long-drawers were made of, and added some

\* In 1789 at Calcutta.

and most time-serving men of his age. He had already been long in employment amongst the English, having been entrusted with the Post Office, and with the business of stationing spies, and procuring weekly intelligence from Delhi; offices of trust conferred upon him so early as the times when Shah-aalem and the English had their residence at Ilah-abad. This Ismail-beg had from longhand connections with Haider-beg-qhan, a Cab8lian, whom he introduced to Mr. Djan Bristow, after having entered into a secret treaty with him by which he secured some

To whom  
Mr. Bristow is  
obliged to give  
a very active  
Deputy.

pecuniary advantages to himself. The Cab8lian, who was an intriguing man, and one accustomed to sow, that great ones might reap, had been introduced to Mr. Djan Bristow so early

as the first appearance of Iredj-qhan's distemper; and he had been recommended by Ismail-beg as an able man, fit to execute the penible office of the Naib's Naib or Deputy's Deputy. This Haider-beg-qhan was, as well as his brother, Mirza-n8r-beg, a man versed in revenue matters, having successively rented most

Character of  
that Deputy. of the Districts of the Province of A8d from Shudjah-ed-dowlah.

He was extremely rude and severe in collecting his rents, paid no regard to friendship, was intent on his own profits, and had become nearly insociable. Being greatly in arrears to Shudjah-ed-dowlah, that Prince had made him over to his guards, together with his brother, and these having orders to enforce payment, fell upon them both with such a storm of slaps, blows, and kicks, that the elder brother died under the operation; the younger, who was Haider-beg-qhan, escaped with life, by making proper applications to that Prince's favourites. Sometime after this event, that Prince died; and this man who had been but a few days ago buffeted by the meanest of the guards, and had despaired of his own life, was now by the prevalence of his fortune, called up from that state of dejection, and ordered to assume the collection of full two corores of rupees, which is in fact to assume the absolute dominion over so much ground. Hassen-reza-qhan, who did not like to be Prime Minister, objected both to his being kept in office himself, and to his being saddled with a Deputy;

---

remarks upon the stuff which we should particularly recommend for drawers, the man who had been all along laughing and joking, gave at once a serious cast to his features and said, drily: *Sir, I never think of the drawers of a friend's consort.* Such a man is that Ismail-beg-shoraw.

but he was over-ruled by Mr. Djan-Bristow, who determined that he should be invested with the office of Naïb, or Deputy to Assef-ed-dowlah, and that Haïder-beg-qhan should be Deputy to himself, Hassen-reza-qhan. Rich Qhylaats were put upon their shoulders, with such a difference in the richness, however, as should discriminate their respective relations, and the same nicety was observed in presenting them with elephants, horses, and sets of jewels. From that day Haïder-beg-qhan was engrossed intirely by the affairs of his department; and Hassen-reza-qhan, who had been complimented with a Djaghir of one lac of rupees, turned his views intirely towards cool retreats, pastimes, voluptuous, and secret pleasures, just as if these verses of Hafyz had been addressed to him personally :

“ Get up boy, and make haste to fill up that glass of wine,

“ Make haste for life passes away meanwhile, and the motion of the  
“ sphere knows no rest ;

He now went less frequently to Court, and he intirely addicted himself to a life of ease and voluptuousness. He seemed to be the man of whom the poet had said :

“ Whatever is provided for thee by the decrees of Fate will come to thee ;

“ Will come to thee, at any rate, whether thou wilt give thyself any motion  
“ for it or not ? ”

It was observed on this promotion that every man, who came into office, made it a point to propose to his master a reduction in the troops and pensions ; and a revolution taking place accordingly in the affairs, some that had lived in opulence came to want water to drink, whilst streams of that element were pouring of themselves at the very doors of some others, who had not so much as dreamed about it. But it happened that, at the very time when Djan Bristow's scheme was taking place, and establishing itself solidly, his protector at Calcutta, General Clavering, was quitting this world, the book of his existence having been closed and shut up. The Governor's party acquired thereby a prevalence ; and Mr. Djan Bristow being recalled, Mr. Middleton was sent to reside in his stead. From this sudden change, General Goddard, who then was at Feroh-abad, but who had great connections with the new Resident, had conceived great hopes both for himself and for me ; the more so, as this gentleman, on his arrival at Lucknow, had inquired for me from Mr. Djan Bristow's assistant, and had informed him of his having a letter

from the Governor for me, with many recommendations. On this intelligence I waited on that gentleman. He took me into a closet, and putting the Governor's letter in my hands, he bade me read it; this I did, and I explained the contents. These he seemed to hear with attention and pleasure, then shewed me a deal of kindness, and requested me to come to see him, and to talk with him in private whenever I should have any thing to impart. And matters went on for some time in a favorable manner, when the same Englishman, who seemed to be his assistant, and in fact was his right-hand man, being secretly gained by Haider-beg-qhan, and fearing likewise a diminution of his own influence, should I ever come into office, gave Mr. Middleton to understand that it was very improper in him to make his confidant of a man who held a correspondence with the Governor. This short remark had its full effect, and Mr. Middleton becoming impressed with suspicions on a variety of accounts, at once turned a new leaf with me, and commenced shewing me the utmost neglect. Such a total alteration in his behaviour could not long remain a secret, and concluding that there was nothing to be done for me in those parts, I thought that the only party left was to obtain General Goddard's leave to repair to Azimabad, and this he gave not without much reluctance. Sometime after, Mr. Middleton turned a new leaf with General Goddard also, who was his old friend. A frozen coldness took place between them. The General lost his appointment, and I was thunderstruck when I saw him again at Azimabad, from whence he proceeded to Calcutta. He had the goodness to desire my attendance in that journey and to take me with him, and for some time he expected to recover his footing, in which case he intended to make use of my services, when he was himself appointed to serve in the army commanded for the Decan, as we have said in our former volume; so that I returned to Azimabad. The dominions of Assef-ed-dowlah remain now as they were, still under the apparent management of Hassen-reza-qhan, who enjoys the emolument and honors of the Deputyship, in retirement and voluptuousness, but really under the government of Haider-beg-qhan, his Deputy, who undergoes all the fatigue, and assumes all the authority of the collection of the revenue; nor was that Minister's influence affected by the recall of that same

Mr. Middleton, who, on some displeasure conceived against him by Mr. Barwell, one of the Members of the Council, had been dismissed from his office. On the contrary, it received even some accession; for on that antagonist's going home, Mr. Middleton was immediately sent back, together with Mr. Johnson ; and now the whole government at Lucnow is in the hands of those two English gentlemen: a state of things which brings naturally to our remembrance the situation of Nedjef-qhan, their next neighbour.

## SECTION XVIII.

### CONTENTS.

*Nedjef-qhan, become an independent Sovereign, makes conquests—Is abandoned by the Afghans, commanded by Zabeta-qhan; but he beats him in battle, and besieges him in a fortress—Zabeta-qhan surrenders at discretion—Abdol-ahed-qhan, Prime Minister at the Court of Delhi—His schemes and jealousy against Nedjef-qhan—Is shamefully put to flight by the Sycs, and then seized and confined by Nedjef-qhan—The English wage war in Decan against the Marhattas—General Goddard, after many successes, is finally defeated by them; who also defeat Colonel Camac—Admirable fortitude and character of Governor Hastings—He makes a progress into Hindostan—The Hollanders dispossessed by the English in Bengal—The cause of the war assigned on the broils which happened between the English and the people of America, alias Yenghi-D8nia—Account of Yenghi-D8nia—The Americans revolt and beat the English—Are assisted by the Francissians, alias French; who are joined by the Espan-yols, alias Spaniards—The Author quits his subject to launch into the latter part of Aoreng-zib's history—Aoreng-zib's character—His hardness of heart to his father and brothers—Affecting narrative of Prince Dara-shecoh's flight and adventures—The Prince betrayed and put to death—Extreme authority and overbearing pride of the Ecclesiastics, under that reign—Singular sentiments of the Asiaticks, which ought to be written in letters of gold, over all the gates of the Princes of Europe—The Emperor's dislike to all Gentoos—Singular contrivance, by which some of them escape out of confinement—Prince Ecber, his youngest and most beloved son, revolts—Is abandoned by his troops—Seeks an asylum with Simbha-dji, the Marhatta Emperor—Quits that Court, and flies to Muscat, in Arabia; the King of which country wants to sell him to his father, but he is rescued by the interposition of the Persian Monarch, who receives him most generously—Capitulation tax enforced by Aoreng-zib against the Hindoos—Their singular and respectful way of complaining of it—Brilliant*

character of *Qhan-djehan*, a celebrated General—Famous Battle of *Hersol*—Another battle—Terrible sally of the Author upon *Aorenz-sib's* character—*Aorenz-sib* attacks the King of *Bidjap8r*, and also that of *Haider-abad*—Crafty instructions given by *Aorenz-sib* to his Envoy—Curious answer of the King of *Haider-abad*—The Fortress of *Salir* surrenders to the Imperialists—Strange kind of artillery contrived by the besieged, at the Siege of *Rameb*—Odd contrivance of the besiegers—Unsuccessful Siege of *Bidjap8r*—Heroical behaviour of an Imperial Princess—The Emperor repairs in person to that siege—Disgraces his eldest son—The city reduced by a horrible famine—The Siege of *Haider-abad*—Several battles about that fortress—The Imperialists defeated, receive assistance from some elephants in rut—The *Haider-abadian* Generals propose a combat between twenty of their number and twenty Imperial officers—The King of *Haider-abad* flies to the Fortress of *Golconda*, and leaves the city of *Haider-abad* to be sacked and plundered—The two *Brahmans*, his Ministers, put to death against his will, by the *Grandees* of the State—The Author resumes the Siege of *Haider-abad*—Artful management of *Aorenz-sib's*—His fanatical conduct ingenuously defended by his Envoy, *Saadet-qhan*—*Aorenz-sib's* manifesto against the King of *Haider-abad*—Sultan *Muazzem*, eldest son of the Emperor, is disgraced for attempting to bring on a pacification between the Emperor and the King—He is imprisoned—Noble answer of the Imperial Prince—The King of *Haider-abad* deserted by most of his officers—Vigorous sally of the besiegers—The Emperor debauches almost all the Generals of the besieged—Famine in the Imperial Camp—An escalade miscarries—Amazing quantities of necessaries in *Golconda*—Noble and curious letter of the *Haider-abadian* King to the Emperor—Three mines of the besieged have a retrograde effect, and kill an infinity of people—The Emperor repairs to the counterscarp, and behaves with the utmost intrepidity—The besieged King forsaken by all, except *Abdol-rezac*—Admirable character of that General—*Golconda* betrayed and surprised—Amazing exertions of *Abdol-rezac*—Fearless behaviour of the King of *Haider-abad*—Verses he pronounces extempore—Singular meeting and conversation between him and the Imperial Generals—Noble proceedings of the Emperor

*towards Abdol-rezac—An historical account of the Fortress of Golconda, which serves as a citadel to Bagnagor, or Haider-abad—Immense riches found in it—Romantic, but historical, account of Ab8l-hassen, the last King of Haider-abad.*

NEDJEF-QHAN, after the conquest of Acber-abad and the Fortress of Dig, had now become a Sovereign Prince. Intent

Conquests  
of Nedjef-  
qhan, who is  
become a  
Sovereign  
Prince.

only on whatever could establish and increase his power, his army, which he was augmenting incessantly, became so numerous, that there is hardly mentioning its numbers without seeming to deal in exaggerations. His two favourite Commanders alone, that is, Nedjef-c8ly-qhan and Afrasiab-qhan, were at the head of two corps that could not amount to less than ten or twelve thousand cavalry and as much infantry. It is true they had both been his slave-boys; but it must be acknowledged that their personal prowess and their military talents were such as warranted all that elevation: the former, especially, who bears a distinguished character for a headlong courage, and an irresistible impetuosity; insomuch that it has been more than once observed, that leaving all the other Generals behind, he seemed intent upon equalling his master himself. Another valorous Commander of Nedjef-qhan's army and as good a soldier as himself, was Mahmed-beg-qhan the Hamadanian, a General who, by the nobility of his race and the frankness of his character, seemed another Nedjef-qhan: two qualifications in which he was superior to all the Commanders of the army, and especially to the two persons just mentioned. There were several other officers of character in that army, most of them being those that had served with honor under Shudjah-ed-dowlah, and had fled from his son's capital or from his camp; for instance, the two Ghossains, who had under their commands a body of six or seven thousand Fakyrs, as brave as themselves. Morteza-qhan, son to Mustephaphan, that famous General who had cut so great a figure in Bengal, served also in Nedjef-qhan's army at the head of five thousand men; and one could see in that camp most of Ab8l-mans8r-qhan's descendants, all men of distinction, who tired with the inattention and vile behaviour of Assel-ed-dowlah, had fled from that court, and taken shelter in Nedjef-qhan's army, where they were promoted to commands, every one according to his merit and abilities. To insure the payment of all these

numerous troops, Nedjef-qhan divided his dominions and conquests into so many parts, the revenues of which were assigned to each Commander's management. With such an army, Nedjef-qhan was always in motion, constantly busy in making conquests upon Radja Dehi-sing-sevai, and Radja Dehi-radji-sevai, on one hand; and on the other, upon the Radjp<sup>8t</sup> Princes of Kedjvaha. He beat these Princes in several engagements, and made himself dreaded far and near, about the outskirts of the provinces of Shah-djehanabad and Acber-abad. But although he was so successful in the field, he had enemies at Court; and these were Abd8l-ahed-qhan the Cashmirian, Prime Minister, and all the Grandees of that dastardly Court, who were all timorous and all cowardly, but who possessed so far the Emperor's ear, that he did just as they bid. All these, unable to bear Nedjef-qhan's influence and prosperity, were exciting Zabeta-qhan to a revolt. It was the same Zabeta-qhan, who after the death of Hafyz-rahmet and the ruin of his nation, had become the head of it, the Rohillahs and Afghans flocking to him from all parts, impressed with a sense of respect for his illustrious pedigree, and a warm admiration for his personal character. He is the same man who had been requested from Shudjah-ed-dowlah by Nedjef-qhan, and the same who had owed the highest obligations to that conqueror's partiality and patronage; but there was too much of the Afghan in him, not to set all those ties at nought on the most distant prospect. In a moment he forgot how highly he was indebted to Nedjef-qhan; and listening only to the suggestions of Abd8l-ahed-qhan and his confederates, all men as cowardly and as envious as that Minister, he parted from his friend and benefactor, and marched off at the head of his national troops, which were considerable.

Nedjef-qhan, amazed at his defection, thought his honor concerned in punishing it immediately. The two armies met. A bloody battle ensued, in which the two parties fought with the utmost bravery; and numbers of brave men fell on both sides, after exhibiting feats of valor and prowess. At last the zephyr of Divine assistance blowing directly over Nedjef-qhan's standards, unfurled their folds, and stretched them open on the gale of victory. A vast number of Rohillas were put to the sword, with a very small loss to the ~~victorious~~<sup>Academw</sup> and Zabeta-qhan with the

Is abandon-  
ed by Zabeta-  
qhan and his  
Afghans.

remains of his troops, which even now did not amount to less than thirty thousand men, fled to Ghōus-gur, and shut himself up in that fortress. From thence he wrote to the Principal rulers amongst the Sycs to request their assistance. He even concluded a treaty with them, by which he subscribed to such articles, and entered into such close connections with those people, that a report spread everywhere, as if he had forsaken the Musulmanism(71), and made himself a member of their community. Whilst he was connecting himself by such odious ties with these people, Nedjef-qhan was advancing upon him. That General, after giving some repose to his victorious troops, besieged him in Ghōus-gur. The Rohillas had fortified an intrenched camp under the walls of the fortress ; and now sure of a retreat, they for a whole month together kept Nedjef-qhan at bay, sallying out every day to skirmish, and even coming several times to a general engagement. It is true that they were always beaten, but as true that they always made good their retreat within their intrenchments. By this time, however, their numbers were so thinned, that Zebeta-qhan thought proper to submit, and to propose terms. He received some officers for hostages, and went to visit Nedjef-qhan ; but the latter having declined the proposals he had brought, the other asked leave to return, which being granted immediately, he returned to his camp. There he assembled his own Commanders as well as those of the Sycs that had just come to his assistance, and he informed them of

(71) The Sycs are Deists, in the strictest sense of the word, and of course, perfectly tolerant and harmless ; although as soldiers, they are, like the Marhattas, merciless plunderers, and incessant skirmishers. The ceremony of the reception of a Proselyte consists in no more than these two articles : To put on a short dress, of a blue colour, from head to foot ; and to let one's hair grow from head to foot, without ever cutting or clipping or shaving it. One day I got within one of their temples, invited thereto by the tingling of the cymbals. On appearing within the door, an old venerable man bid me leave my slippers, as none could enter, but bare-footed. This admonition I obeyed, and went into a hall covered with carpets, at the northern part of which, there were several cushions covered with a yellow veil, under which, I was told, lay Nanec-shah's Book, who is their Legislator. At the southern end of the hall, there were fifteen or twenty men, all in blue and with long beards, sitting, some armed and some not. At the eastern side, but very near to it, two old men with a small drum and a pair of cymbals, were singing some maxims of morality out of that Book, and this they did with a deal of enthusiasm and contortion. On getting within the hall, I saluted the company, which returned the salute, and returned it again when I came out.

Beats Zebeta-qhan, and besieges him.

his being resolved to perish rather than to submit. This declaration having been received with applause, and with promises of standing by him with their lives, the next morning, he came out of his camp, preceded by his artillery and a body of men armed with such rockets and such other missiles as remained to him. Nedjef-qhan, on his side, glad to see them coming to a fair engagement, arranged his troops, and taking a body to which he trusted, he pushed before the rest, and charged the enemy, himself the foremost. This appearance intimidated the Rohillahs, who being valorously charged everywhere, lost their wonted courage and were mowed down by thousands; insomuch that this battle became similar to that famous one at Panip8t, where the Abdalies put an end to the Marhatta power, and destroyed their numerous army. Nedjef-qhan's soldiers, as much incensed as their master at the perfidy and ingratitude of the Afghans, followed them everywhere, resolved to make an end of the enemy. The engagement lasted, without interruption, the whole of that day. Nedjef-qhan killed several men with his own hand, and seemed to contend for the palm of personal prowess with his most forward Commanders. This day having put an end to the power of Zabeta-qhan, as well as to the courage of his new allies, the latter retired to their homes; and Zabeta-qhan took shelter in the fortress, with all those who had escaped by favour of the darkness. The next morning he sent to camp an humble message, in which he supplicated Nedjef-qhan's forgiveness; the latter granted it, but would treat no more, and commanded his attendance. Zabeta-qhan, having no other party left, put on an humble dress, and presenting himself before Nedjef-qhan in a suppliant posture, he obtained his pardon. Sending then for his people from the fortress, and for his family, he lived a long time in the conqueror's army, entirely unnoticed. In the sequel, he found means to betroth one of his daughters to Nedjef-c8ly-qhan, who had become Nedjef-qhan's adoptive son, and acted as his Lieut.-General; and this alliance having facilitated another, he likewise engaged Nedjef-qhan himself to accept his sister, by which means he came into favour again, and was complimented with the Fodjday of Soharren-p8r-b8ria.

All this while Abd8l-ahed-qhan was so far master of the Emperor's heart and mind, that he governed the household and

Gives him a  
bloody defeat.

And grants  
him a pardon.

the Court with a single nod of his head ; but his main business seemed to be to demolish Nedjef-qhan's power and influence. He was perpetually upon the watch to hurt him, like a serpent rolled upon itself ; but the late victory entirely damped his ardour. As soon as he heard of this total defeat of Zabeta-qhan, a man on whose pride and prowess, as well as that of his national troops, he had so much relied for humbling Nedjef-qhan to dust, he concluded that it was preposterous in him to contend any more with so successful a rival. But, as at the same time this defeat of the Rohillahs had also greatly weakened the Sycs, their new allies, he resolved to avail himself of this event ; and he concluded that the best party he could take would be to put himself, with the young Shahzadah, at the head of an army, with which he might, by marching up to Ser-hend, subdue a power that seemed to be already in distress ; for he reckoned that after having brought them to terms of submission, he might join their forces to his victorious troops, and then fall at once upon his odious rival. This design having been approved by Shah-aalem, that Prince ordered his elder son, Djuvan-baqht, and his younger son, Ecber-shah, to join the Minister ; and the latter was already encamped in the outskirts of the city, when he published, " That "whoever was a soldier, would find service in his camp, and "ought to come to his standard." The city being full of military men, who breathed nothing but war, his camp was soon filled with a mighty army ; and as soon as it was known that there was a perfect concert between the Emperor and him, several Commanders who resided in the country, and some others who had a character, but were accustomed to live by war, came from far and near, and joined his troops ; so that the encamped army received daily additions. The Emperor, at the same time, having laid his commands on Nedjef-qhan, the latter sent a body of his own troops to join the Imperial Prince ; and by such a step, he gave the expedition an air of concert which in reality it had not. The Minister having by these means furnished himself with feathers and wings, pushed forwards ; and in emulation of Nedjef-qhan's boldness he advanced beyond Serhend, where, instead of seeking the enemy, he commenced a negotiation with the principal of the Syc rulers ; he made a muster of his power, and exhorted him to a timely

Abd8i-ahed-  
qhan's jealousy  
and schemes  
against  
Nedjef-qhan's  
growing  
power.

He designs  
to attack and  
subdue the  
Sycs.

submission, but all this while he had not minded the poet's advice :

"A wooden sword, engaging like one of steel,  
"Is not likely to support the comparison."

The Syc observing that the Minister spent his time in negotiations, soon guessed the temper of the man he was to deal with, and breaking at once the conferences, he prepared to fall upon his enemy. Accordingly he attacked the next day. Some skirmishes took place, but nothing like a general engagement ; and yet this was enough to damp Abd8l-ahed-qhan's spirits at once. Without having suffered any loss, or even any check, he took fright at the sight of unsheathed sabres ; and his cowardly timorous nature informing him internally that he would never stand the brunt of a battle, he took the Shah-zadah with him and fled without once turning about to look behind on those numerous troops of his, where not a single man had yet moved a foot from his post. After this flight, the troops retired of course, and Nedjef-qhan's corps was amongst the first that retreated ; but it was in so good order, that no one would choose to approach it. Some other Commanders followed, and retiring in good order, marched off unpursued. Numbers of the bravest of the other corps joining together, retired at a slow pace likewise ; but numbers of others, after having through their own ill conduct, or the incapacity of their Chiefs, roamed about for sometime, dispersed at last, and were then set upon one after another by the enemies, who despoiled them of both arms and horses, as well as clothes. It was in such a dismal condition that they fled to their homes, and most of them to the capital, but not without undergoing a variety of hardships. Such a complete disgrace was enough to humble the Minister ; but it served moreover to demolish him totally.

Is shamefully defeated  
by these  
Sycs.

Nedjef-qhan thought of making his profit of it. He had all along stood still like a mark to be shot at by Abd8l-ahed-qhan and his party, and he had all along put up with the daily injuries he received from him. But thinking now that his concerns were blended with those of an incensed public that cried for vengeance, and concluding that there was no safety for him as well as for the public, but in the removal of that man from all power and influence, he supplicated the Emperor to remove that disturber

## THE SEIR

114

of the public repose from all his offices and employments, and to send him into condign confinement. The Emperor, who is a strange sort of a man indeed, and of a character that borders upon foolishness and imbecility, made haste to obey his General's mandate ; and the latter without losing time, made haste to send a number of trusty officers to the Minister's house, where they seized and confined his person, and confiscated his whole

Is deprived  
of all his  
offices, and  
confined by  
Nedjef-qhan.

fortune. Out of all that wealth, the General took nothing for himself but his Library, and his Pharmacy, and collection of drugs and fossiles, which really contained great curiosities; but he sent to the Emperor the money, furniture, and jewels—three articles that amounted to a great number of lacs. After this operation Nedjef-qhan sent several Commanders of his own, who repulsed the Sycs and drove them back to their homes ; and these officers exhibited in other respects so much bravery and conduct, that the Sycs acknowledged Nedjef-qhan's superiority, and behaved submissively to him, although those mendicants turned soldiers, had been during all these troubles receiving such continual additions, that they now reckoned their numbers by lacs. Nedjef-qhan, having now confirmed his power by that act of authority, has seen his name become an object of dread and respect all over the provinces of Delhi and Acber-abad, where he lives with the utmost splendour and dignity. His character now commenced spreading abroad, and making impression even on the English, a nation acute, provident, and that sees deep into futurity ; and he that had been left hitherto unnoticed and unminded, now received an Envoy from General Coote, who happened to be in that neighbourhood. This Envoy was Mr. Massac(72), who delivered a message full of complaints, mixed with some threats, in which he mentioned how much the English had hitherto borne and forborne. Nedjef-qhan returned a firm answer, and such as was calculated to impose silence, and to quash all further discussions. But many dangerous troubles having arisen at this very time in the south of India, a stop was put to all further discussions with that rising conqueror ; otherwise, there is no doubt, but the disputes would have grown warmer between the two parties, and that the respective pretensions would have been

---

(72) Mr. Massac, being born in Aleppo, spoke good Arabic, and was become a proficient in the Persian, which is full of Arabic words, and even whole phrases.

supported by armies ; so that it is highly probable, that Nedjef-ghan would have appeared in the field against the English. We must wait to see what may be the subsequent events, and in whose behalf the Divine protection shall be pleased to declare itself ; what nation shall prevail by the superiority of its fortune in the contest, and on whose standards the gale of Divine Providence shall be pleased to blow.

" Let us wait till we see which of the two parties, the prevalence of fate

" Shall raise to the skies, or depress and crush for ever."

But as we have already mentioned succinctly, in the former volume, such authentic accounts of the affairs of Decan as had come to our knowledge, and have inserted them in the body of our history, it is not therefore out of its place that we should continue to impart to the reader such further creditable intelligence as is come to hand in the month of Shaaban and the beginning of the month of Ramazan, in the year 1195 of the Hedjra. According, then, to those accounts, General Goddard, after having taken the Fortress of Bessi(73), which is one of the strongest and most important fortresses under the Marhatta power, marched with intention to make himself master of P8nah, the Capital of that Empire, the centre of its power, and the residence of all the principal Grandees and rulers of that nation. This undertaking was opposed by several Marhatta Generals, who joining their forces together, advanced some stages from P8nah towards the salt-water(74), where they fought the English troops with a variety of successes, but in such a manner, however, that not a day passed without some severe action, in which the Generals on both sides exerted themselves to the utmost of their abilities and courage, and vast numbers of brave men fell every day on both sides. At last a final engagement took place, in which General Goddard was defeated ; but he had the abilities and presence of mind to assemble the few men that had escaped the slaughter (and these did not exceed two thousand men), and to make good his retreat towards the sea, abandoning his cannon and baggage ; there he found ships ready, in which he embarked

The English  
wage war in  
Decan,  
against the  
Marhattas.

General  
Goddard  
defeated.

(73) Upon the Charts, Bassain.

(74) We have already observed that Deria, which strictly signifies the sea, is come to signify in the Persian used in India, a large body of water. The Ganges itself is called Deria. Hence the sea is become designed by the word Deria Shor, or salt-water; for the Hindostany word for sea, is Sunondur.

with his men, and reached Bombay. This is an island defended by a strong fortress of the same name, built long ago by the English, and replenished with every necessary for a long defence ; there he remains actually waiting for reinforcements, and for an opportunity of re-commencing his operations. There is some report that he is gone to Bender-s8ret (Surat) ; but the truth of this God knows. What is come to our knowledge of late is this, that another English army, under the command of Colonel Camac, another Commander of great conduct and bravery, had penetrated into the province of Malva (where the English were already in possession of the famous Fortress of Goaliar), and had made themselves masters of a number of strong places, and a vast extent of country. But these conquests brought upon him a great army of Marhattas from Decan, who, by intercepting his convoys and forages, and by repeated engagements with his troops, as well as by reducing to straits his garrison and troops in Goaliar, so harassed that officer, that he was obliged to surrender that fortress to the Radja of Gohud, its owner, and, moreover, to evacuate all his other conquests ; after which he retreated towards Calpy and Atava. That Commander arrived in that neighbourhood after a very fatiguing retreat, and took up his quarters there.

The Marhattas oblige  
Colonel  
Camac to a  
retreat.

The same reports mention that Haider-näik continues to lord it all over the Carnatic ; and that General Coote, who is a Member of the Supreme Council, and the Commander-in-Chief of all the English troops in India, having gone over to those parts with a body of troops by Governor Hushtins's commands, had been obliged to shut himself up in the Fortress of Mandradj from which he now and then came out and fought the enemy, just as opportunity served, and times could afford.

So many disasters having befallen every one of the armies which Governor Hushtins had sent throughout Hindostan and Decan, and the unprosperous state of the Company's affairs becoming truly alarming, he thought it incumbent on him to provide betimes for the safety of the provinces entrusted to his care, which were Bengal, Azim-abad, A8d, and Ilah-abad. It was with that view he commenced some connections with Nedjef-qhan and Shah-aalem, as well as with some other Princes that figured in Hindostan. To all those he sent envoys, with

letters and messages fraught with sentiments of friendship and amity, his intention being to gain them over to the English interest, lest the Marhattas, availing themselves of the misfortunes of his nation, should think of penetrating into their richest provinces, and spread ruin and devastation everywhere. He, at the same time, intended to obtain from the wealthy men who had enriched themselves in the affairs of the Government, a mighty sum of money by way of contribution, as he wished to keep it in reserve for unforeseen emergencies. These letters and proffers had such an effect on Nedjef-qhan, as proved the very reverse of what was intended. The style of the messages that had heretofore passed between that conqueror and General Coote, had rendered the former so suspicious against the designs of the English, that it is probable he would have entered into a treaty with the Marhattas, as he was apprehensive lest some connections might come to take place between that nation and the English against his interest: not that he had any certain intelligence of such a design, for he only suspected it; as the English are a race of men who are keen-sighted and full of policy and secrecy, but none so much as the Governor himself, whose breast is a casket full of inaccessible secrets, and a repository of impenetrable views and projects. Who is the man that can make him speak against his mind? And who is that one who could guess from his features, or from his air, or from his words, at any of those secrets locked up in that inaccessible breast? It is out of any man's power; it is utterly impossible. The Governor, naturally impenetrable, and who had views which none but himself could know, set out from Calcutta in the month of Redjeb, of the year 1195 of the Hedjra, and travelled towards Lucnow. He had in his company a number of men of merit, whom he knew, and whom he had selected for that purpose. One of these was Mr. Anderson. Amongst the Hindostanees was Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, a nobleman whose valuable qualifications we have just hinted with many an honourable mention in our former volumes, and who being neglected by the jealous and unattentive administration of the great ones at Moorshoodabad, lived at his own house in obscurity and retirement. The Governor, who is a connoisseur of the first rate, and who knew him personally, invited him to be of his company, where he

Admirable  
character of  
Governor  
Hushtins.

He makes  
a progress  
into Hindos-  
tan.

always received him with the utmost distinction. The Governor travelled with all his household and retinue, and with so much pomp and so many commodities, that he had about four hundred boats in his retinue. He arrived in Shaaban, at Azimabad, from whence, after a short stay, he went forwards. It was the twenty-third of that month when he arrived at Benares, and the report is that he will make but a short stay there, his views being chiefly turned towards Lucknow, and that city being the place where he intends to unfold them. Before his departure from Calcutta he had received certain intelligence from Europe, that war had been declared to the Hollanders, and he had been enjoined to seize on their forts and factories all over India. These orders were executed in Bengal with a great deal of ease. A fortress of theirs, close to the Bacshy-bunder at Hooghly(75), where the Hollanders had their principal settlement, and which was defended by a small garrison, and a number of guns, not less than thirty or forty, under the command of a man of consequence, fell in the hands of the English, without any attack or dispute; and the whole property of the Hollanders(76) became a prize for the conqueror. Several factories which that nation had in various places of Bengal, and every one of which was inhabited by three or four Hollanders, busy with the concerns of their Company, were taken possession of in the same quiet manner. They had a factory at Azimabad, a house of great beauty and vast extent(77); nor was it even quite destitute of strength, being furnished with cannon and men. This also fell in the hands of the English, without the least defence or opposition. Mr. Macs8l (Maxwell), Chief of Azimabad, and Major Hardy, who commanded the garrison, did not meet with the

The Hollanders dispossessed by the English in Bengal.

(75) It is only a fort with a fosse, in the middle of a rich town, called Chichira, close to the Bacshy-bunder or custom-house of Hooghly.

(76) This is an oriental oversight. It was not the property of the Hollanders which the English seized, as says the author, but the public property of the Company. On the contrary, private property was so much respected by the English, that the natives were amazed to see the prisoners of war inviting and invited at entertainments and balls. Such manners intirely militated against their notions of the rights of war, or rather their notions of warfare in India.

(77) What they call a Factory in India, is no less than a fortified Palace, where lives a Chief that equals several Princes of Germany by his table and expense, and by much surpasses them in pomp and attendance, whenever he appears in public.

least difficulty in putting in execution the Governor's order, and in seizing the factories and settlements of that nation all over the province of Bahar. The reason of all this ease and submission is, that the English having from longhand expected such a rupture, had not allowed the Hollanders to fortify themselves in such a manner in Bengal, as should render a military force necessary to subdue and expel them.

The dissensions between the two nations arose from this event : The King of the English maintained these five or six years past, a contest with the people of America, (a word that signifies a New World), on account of the Company's concerns. By the word Company is understood an assembly of thirty or forty of the richest or most creditable men of the country of Inghilter, who joining their funds together obtain the privilege to trade into which climate soever they may choose out of the seven. Such a body, if even consisting of so few as thirty or forty of such creditable men, is called a Company ; but there may be three or four hundred of such men in the Company we mean, which hold a rank and pre-eminence amongst all the merchants of that land. Nor does the King order anything about their concerns without consulting them first ; for whatever he intends to do, he consults the Omrahs or Lords of his Court ; and when the matter has been agreed amongst them, it is then proposed to the Council of the nation, which is composed of the principal merchants above, and of a number of other creditable and sensible men chosen, two by two, by each of the principal towns, cities, and countries of Inghilter. All these men have their charges borne by the senders, and from that moment they become their Deputies and Attorneys. All these assemble in London (which is the name of the Capital of the English Empire), and there they examine such proposals as are made them by the King and the Lords, whether about raising taxes, or about any other object of public concern. Such proposals are consented to by those Attorneys above, if after a thorough examination, they find them advantageous and convenient to those that have sent them ; for it is in their power to reject them, and if they do reject them once, they are rejected by the whole nation likewise. Sometimes the Attorneys examine a scheme amongst themselves, and if they find it proper and profitable to all the inhabitants of

The cause  
of the war  
with the Hol-  
landers as-  
signed on the  
broils hap-  
pened be-  
tween the  
English and  
the people of  
Yenghi-  
dunia alias  
America.

that land, they desire the concurrence of the King and of his Lords, request the proposal to be signed, and they become his associates in promoting its views; for from that moment it becomes obligatory on all the inhabitants of that land, and on all the dependants of that kingdom. Sometimes they disapprove of a proposal, and upon examination, they reject it, as disadvantageous to the nation, or as pregnant with mischief; and in that case, it falls into as much neglect, as if no such proposal had ever been made; nor dares the King pretend to go forwards with it, or to carry it in execution, when once it has been disapproved and rejected by them.

As to the men of America, the country designed both by the words of a Newfoundland, and also by those of Yenghi-Dunia(78), that is New World, they are themselves of English extraction and of English blood: they are the sons and children of the English. It must be observed that the astronomers and geographers of that nation, after many researches and observations, have found out a great number of differences between their remarks and the opinions of the ancients. Amongst these differences, the principal one is this, that the circumference and figure of the land and water in our globe are not as they were thought heretofore. They say that the latter seems to encompass the former as a girdle, and they add, that in the same manner as a portion of ground has emerged out of the waters on our side, and is become dry and habitable in seven several climates; in like manner another portion has risen opposite to it, and is become habitable by mankind. Whence it might happen, that the feet of the inhabitants of the two portions would meet sole to sole, were the earth to be withdrawn from between, whilst their heads would continue to look towards heaven. To conclude, it may be said that the two portions or hemispheres seem inclined towards each other; and although the extent of the other hemisphere has not been totally explored, yet it is conjectured that should the whole earth be divided into five parts, three parts of it would fall to the lot of the old hemisphere, already divided into seven climates, and the two others, with a fraction, would constitute the other, or new hemisphere. This new hemisphere is humid and cold, and also humid and hot; but

---

(78) These words, which are Turkish, signify New World.

the whole of it has not been yet explored and examined. They bring from thence a variety of medicinal drugs, and a variety of fine woods, fit for chests and furniture ; and they say that most parts of its soil produce mines of gold and silver. The discovery of so great a part of our globe is intirely owing to the following chance :—

About four hundred years ago, a ship, beaten by a storm, was thrown upon those coasts, and by chance discovered that land. It was in the year when the Portuguese ships (so called from Portugal, their kingdom) came by chance into India. Those strangers having seen the country and taken a liking to it, formed settlements in that region, and in process of time they became so powerful that they could not be expelled but in the victorious reign of Shah-Djehan, when they lost all their possessions in India ; nor have their descendants in that region recovered from that overthrow. Those of them that have remained in H8ghly and Mandradj (Mandrast), as well as elsewhere, have so far degenerated as to have their skins quite black, or at least very swarthy ; whilst some of them that retain still an appearance of whiteness, employ themselves in handicrafts. To-day we see that most of them addict themselves to writing, and are employed as writers by the English, but without being made any account of by the latter, who reckon them to be no better than so many Indians. But it is not so in their own country in Europe. There they are considered as a Power, and have armies and fleets, and a King of their own. To return then to our account of America. As soon as the storm-beaten ship had recovered its harbour, after having just had a peep at the new land, it was found that several of her men had learned the way of repairing thither ; and a very sensible Chief amongst them, having obtained access to a woman of the Royal race, he, by her assistance, fitted three or four ships, and having attached to his undertaking some of the ablest men amongst those that had seen the new land, he made a voyage thither and stayed a long time in it, on purpose to examine its productions, and even to gain some of its inhabitants, with whom he contracted a friendship first, by signs, and then, by acquiring some knowledge of their language. He even ventured, under their guidance, to advance some miles from the shore. In his stay in that country, he took the latitude and

longitude of those shores, as well as their situation with regard to the elevation of the pole, so as to form something like a chart. He also examined the passes and defiles, and likewise the rising and setting of the sun. After providing himself with all this stock of knowledge, he returned home. The next year he came back with a number of ships full of warlike stores, and all the necessaries for making a settlement; and he made one accordingly, in which he settled himself with a small number of the principal men he had brought with him. The year following, another swarm of men, hearing of his successes, came and settled in his neighbourhood. It was sometime after, that the English, who hearing of this discovery, and being an enterprising nation, conceived the design of visiting that new land; and they repaired thither in crowds. There they cultivated the ground, raised buildings, built towns and cities, and made them their homes from thenceforward for ever; rearing their children in that land, and accustoming themselves so much to their new habitations, that most of them renounced their original country, and refused to return thither. But all this, however, was without departing from their submission to their King, and without ceasing to be obedient to his commands, and to such of his servants, as had remained in Inghilter and in London, their original land. They paid such tributes as had been established after the English pattern, and matters remained on that footing, until the Yenghi-d8nians (Americans) having increased so greatly in population, that their numbers were now reckoned by lacs and lacs, the King, by the advice of his Ministers and principal men, imposed upon them a new sum of money, over and above that which they had been accustomed to pay. This happened about six or seven years ago. The Yenghi-d8nians displeased with the new imposition, refused to obey the King's commands; and the latter having ordered his Governors and officers, then in that land, to enforce obedience to his edicts, the inhabitants joined together in opposing those officers; and having seized most of them, they revolted from their authority, and set up for themselves, spreading full open the standard of rebellion and defiance, and preparing every thing for a vigorous defence. As these people are of the same blood with the English, and, of course, equal to them in military talents, in courage, and in every thing that pertains to war; and

they were as much skilled as themselves in the art of managing their flint-locks and their artillery ; and as over and above those advantages they had had plenty of necessaries, they made no difficulty of encountering the King's troops and Generals, to which they gave several defeats, so as at last to destroy or ruin his army. The king sent other Generals and other forces, furnished with an immense quantity of stores and necessaries ; nor did the Americans decline the contest ; and they came into the field with what warlike stores they had at hand. But as these began to run short, they applied to the Fransisians (or French), for a supply of necessary stores, and for some other succours. The latter who have an enmity of some hundred years' standing against the English of Europe, and were glad of a dissension that weakened their hereditary foes, did not fail to assist their new allies with every thing they wanted ; but as they had a treaty of peace with the English, the term of which was not yet expired, they were obliged meanwhile to act secretly in the assistance they gave the Americans, which however proved so effectual, as to consist of every succour that could be wished for. The English apprised of this artifice, concluded that an open war was better than a deceitful peace, and accordingly they attacked the French likewise ; so that it is now the second or third year since they waged war with them. But, meanwhile, the inhabitants of the new land having stretched their nerves, and made mighty efforts, gave at last a total defeat to the fresh troops and Generals that had been sent against them by the King. Such an unprosperous war, which had cost already more than thirty or forty thousand men, and above twenty corores of rupees(79), struck the King's Ministers with fear and amazement ; the more so, as over and above the war with their own kinsmen, the men of the new land, and that with the French, which now raged with fury, they had to oppose also a new enemy ; and this was the Espan-yols. who are a different nation from those already mentioned, and have a King and a kingdom of their own. These Espan-yols are a very western nation, always at war with the Roman Emperors(80), since the latter

The Americans revolt  
and beat the  
English.

They are as-  
sisted by the  
French.

The Span-  
iards join the  
French.

(79) Twenty-five millions Sterling.

(80) Natoly, or rather Anatoly, is likewise called Rom or Room by the Turks, who possess that country ; and it was called so by the eastern nations, because it

took from them the city of Ashtanbol about five hundred years ago, in which time they have not ceased to wage war with the R8mees (Romans) : this nation also got up to assist the French and Americans, and to assault the English. In short, the Hollanders likewise came to be involved in this war against the English, whose prevalent power they feared, and whose conquests in Hindostan they had beheld with the utmost jealousy. As these people are addicted to a pacific system, they abstain from dissensions and disputes with other nations ; and both on that account, and on account of the benefits of the trade they drove with the combatants above, they were averse from engaging in a war with any of them ; but as they traded in every article whatever, and of course imported into America immense quantities of musquets, cannon, balls, and all kinds of warlike stores, and they seemed warmly engaged in that business, the English displeased with this artificious behaviour, thought it better to come to an open war with them. Time alone will point out what may be the final intention of Providence in this diversity of concerns and interests ; and time alone will discover what it has ultimately predestined on those obtruse points ; *for God Almighty is the disposar of all events !* (81) But it is now time to take our leave of this subject, and to return to Hindostan ; for as we have set out with this history by mentioning the Emperor Aoreng-zib's demise, and we are now going to close our last volume, the curious will not be displeased with hearing, at the end of our history, some singular and interesting accounts of that very long reign.

The Author  
quits the  
American war  
to launch into  
the latter part  
of the Emperor  
Aoreng-  
zib's history.

We did not intend at first to meddle with the strange events of Shah-aalem's reign, who is now the reigning Emperor of Hindostan, but as we have been drawn insensibly into such

---

was the only part of the Roman Empire they were acquainted with. The Turkish Emperors having succeeded to the Roman Emperors, are called Roman Emperors all over the East, as is their country called Rome or R8m, and their people, Romis, or R8mis, or Romans. Ishtanbol is a corruption of Istanbul, the Turkish name for Constantinople, which last is itself a corruption of the three Greek words *Is Tin polin*. For the Greeks to this day, as well as those of an older date, never design Constantinople by any other appellation than that of *Polis*, the city. But in all Turkish books of an older date than a hundred years, Constantinople bears the name of Constantinyah.

(81) A sentence of the Coran.

a narrative by the very tenor of our history, we have thought it expedient to close our discourse by some account of the singular character and very extraordinary actions of his venerable grandfather, Aoreng-zib the Conqueror, who may be considered as the founder and author of the reigning branch that now sits on the throne of Hindostan; not that there is the least resemblance between them, or that Aaly-goher can pretend to the good character of his father, or to the high character of his grandfather; or that there is the least equality betwixt the real pearl and its shell, or betwixt real coin and a quantity of couries (82); but, as the bezoar is found with the snake, and the thorns grow with the rose, we, in compliance with the celestial oracle, *Every thing returns to its original element*, have thought proper to join together the history of Aoreng-zib with that of Shah-aalem, both being very strange characters, although in a different style. They are both extraordinary and surprising mortals, but of a strangeness relative to the time in which each of them did live. Aoreng-zib, who with a warlike turn of mind and much personal valor, was always shrewd, and, in general, moderate and prudent in his conduct, is nevertheless found to have committed such strange unaccountable actions, that Shah-aalem himself, with all his proficiency in such strangeness of conduct, seems to be but an undermatch to him, and one quite unequal to the honour of being counted amongst his disciples. In the cause and singularity of their actions, there is some difference, likewise, as their circumstances and power are so very desperate; but in the bizarery of their conduct they are upon a par; and of this the reader shall easily judge by himself, when he comes to peruse what we have to say of Aoreng-zib, and we shall have mentioned the expedition to Häiderabad and the conquest of that kingdom, as they have been handed down with a deal of liberty by Naamet-aali-qhan-qháfi. The reader will then draw conclusions for himself, by judging of a whole by some samples, and of a heap by our handful.

---

(82) There are two kinds of Couries, or Ca8ries, in Bengal; one harder, that comes from the Maldivas, and in which the revenues of Government are paid in Oressa or Catec, so that hundreds of women are pressed at a time, to count a sum of ten thousand Rupees; and one sort softer, that comes from Mosambic and Mombasa, in Africa, and 5,200 of these go for a Rupee in Bengal, where they serve or small coin.

And first it will be proper to keep present in one's mind, that whoever has received his dismission from the borrowed hospice of this fragile world, has no resource, but must comply with the order, and prepare himself for his last voyage, by packing up what he is to carry with him, and of course by throwing away and abandoning all that he had been amassing and hoarding up in his life-time. Now his actions and works are the only things that can stick to him, and the only ones he must carry to the other world. If then his actions prove to have been good, he will now reap the benefit of them, and his name will remain behind to be for ever remembered with gratitude by mankind; otherwise, it will be an object of detestation; and in this predicament the vanquished, no less than the victor, stands upon a par, and upon a par stands the distressed poor man, as well as the renowned Prince. There have been in past times persons of both descriptions, of which due mention has been made in these sheets. But gone are they and past; nor can we find any trace left of the good ones, nor any certain footsteps of the bad ones, save the names. The names only of these two species of beings remain behind, and are mentioned by the living as they seem to have deserved. Every one of them receives now a full retribution for what he may have done; and being remembered with pleasure or with imprecation, he serves as an example to excite, or as a warning to deter, living men, by the remembrance of the departed ones; and as these last are daily mentioned by the living ones, these likewise will one day furnish a matter of talk to their descendants, and will be judged by their actions and works. It is for such a reason, and with such a view, that I have brought together about the end of these sheets, some parts of Aorenzib's life, a Prince who under the veil of piety and of an austere virtue, knew how to conceal all the vices of a boundless covetousness, and an insatiable ambition. Nor are these particulars unauthenticated(83). They have been made up out of what has been transmitted to posterity by the Kings, Generals, Grandees, and other eminent

---

(83) This unexpected sortie upon Aorenzib must not surprise the reader. The author was a Shah and a bigoted fanatical one. The Emperor was a zealous Sunni, and moreover one that had put an end to two Shah kingdoms, and to two Shah Dynasties.

persons, who lived with him on a friendly footing, or were in distinguished stations in his service. The sayings, as well as the memoirs of those illustrious well-informed personages constitute what may be called Aorenz-zib's history; and they are recorded in that valuable book, written by Mohammed-hashem-qhan, whose father had been a long time in the service of M8rad-baqsh, brother to that Emperor, and who, after that Prince's defeat and total ruin, was taken into the service by Aorenz-zib himself, and in a little time became an object of the highest favour with that discerning Prince; so that whatever he records is in the greatest part from his own personal knowledge. Nor does his work furnish any handle for suspicion; nor does it appear susceptible of imposition or calumny. It looks to all intents and purposes like an entertainment spread for the ears of the attentive and curious, by the hands of a plain honest steward, who makes it a point to omit no virtue and no laudable action that may serve for an example, nor to conceal any vice, or blamable behaviour that may serve for a warning to these numerous caravans of travellers that are perpetually pouring in and hurrying out of the borrowed hospice of this world.

Aorenz-zib, after his victory over his brother, Dara-shecoh, seized on his own father, Shah-djehan, that second Lord of the conjunction(84), and sent him into a grievous confinement, where the unfortunate Monarch remained full eight years; nor was he released but by the Angel of death, which at the same time released his soul from the prison of his body. In vain did his beloved daughter(85) implore at his death bed, his forgiveness

Aorenz-zib's  
charater.

(84) Conjunction of the two planets of Jupiter and Venus, which they suppose to produce power and honours to those born under their influence. Timur, or Tamer-lang, his great ancestor, was the first Lord of the conjunction; and it is for that reason he bears upon his coins the title of *Sahab-Kyran*.

(85) That Princess (Roshen-ara-begum *id. est.* Princess Roxana\*) whose poetical talents, witty repartees, and surpassing beauty, were then, as they are even to-day, the matter of so many songs, constantly refused to submit to wedlock; and she chose to shut herself up with her father, upon whose heart, it is universally reported and believed, her person had made the deepest impression. It appears by many miniatures, executed by the best masters of those times, that she had a fair complexion, with the most sweet features imaginable, and a fine head of glossy black hair, that flowed in long ringlets over her shoulders, exactly like those seen

\* Luminous, or beautiful.

for her brother, Aoreng-zib ; the incensed parent constantly refused it, and he departed with sentiments of indignation and resentment. Nor did he use his elder brother, Dara-shecoh, with more tenderness ; and as to his younger brother, Morad-baghsh, who had been so instrumental in that victory, the only return he made him, was endeavouring by every means in his power to circumvent that unsuspecting youth. The unfortunate Prince, upon his invitation, had set out from Gudjerat, his Government, at the head of his troops, and had rendered him considerable services in the battle against Maha-radja Djesvent-Rat-hor, and then in that which ruined Dara-shecoh in the plains of Udjéin, in both which he fought like a common trooper, and received several wounds that had set his military character in the strongest light. But all these merits did not avail. The artful Aoreng-zib kept this simple young man in good humour, by ordering his officers to present him with their nuzurs for his victory, and by making him believe that their master's whole ambition being to spend his days in the two Holy Cities(86), he would of course leave the Empire to his disposal. The young Prince, who had a deal of frankness in his temper, and no less simplicity in his turn of mind, yielded so much belief to his protestations, that he used to frequent his artful brother without the least suspicion. To no purpose did several of his faithful servants advise him to be more cautious, and to beware of his brother ; for all answer they received a reprimand ; nor could he be brought to believe that so many promises and so many protestations, with such an appearance of humility and abstinence, would end in artifice and perfidy. He soon had, however, a full opportunity of being thoroughly convinced at last ; and whilst he was in pursuit of Dara shecoh, Aoreng-zib got him seized and confined in the Fortress of G8aliar ; where on hearing that he had found friends in the place, and had attempted to effect his

His hardness of heart to his father and brothers.

---

in the portrait of the famous Ninon-L' Enclos, made in 1660; and not unlike the manner of wearing the hair amongst the European Ladies (now in 1786), but more gracious and pleasing. Her father, who conserved strong virile powers at the age of sixty-five, is represented with a beautiful long oval face, and a white short beard, but always with long black whiskers, a particularity that stuck to him all his life and accompanied his person to the grave.

(86) The Holy Cities are Mecca, the glorious, where is the Caaba, and Medina, the illuminated, where is the Prophet's tomb, at ten days north of Mecc1.

escape, he, without the least scruple, resolved to put him to death. For this purpose he made choice of one of his dependants, whom he engaged to revenge thereby the death of his own father, who had been put to death by M8rad-baqsh, on suspicion that he intended to join Dara-shecoh, against whom he was then marching from Gudjrat ; he even proposed that murder to him as a religious duty, to which he was obliged by the Tallion law. Such was the usage he offered to one who was his confederate and his brother. As to Dara-shecoh, his other brother, who had been overtaken in his flight, he was first carried in chains throughout the whole city of Shah-djehan-abad ; and the next day, under pretence of his being an heretic of the sect of the Mystics, he was put to death, and his body being thrown upon an elephant, underwent a second voyage throughout the same circuit of old Delhi and Shah-djehan-abad, as if to feed with this hideous spectacle the eyes of those that had seen him alive two days before. This unfortunate Prince, after losing that great battle at Adjmir by the perfidy and management of Radja Djesvent-rathor, conceived that although fortune had been unfavourable to him, she had not yet turned her back ; and with this hope he fled towards Gudjrat. He had with him his consort and little daughter, with a small retinue of friends and attendants. The voyage proved tedious and full of dangers ; and it is incredible how many hardships and dangers this illustrious and unfortunate troop was obliged to undergo, before it could reach the environs of Ahmed-abad(87). Sëyd-ahmed, the Vice-roy of the Province, wanted to go out, and to meet his Lord, a Prince to whom he owed his fortune and his present station ; but his intention was opposed by the garrison and by all the Crown-officers, who dreading Aoreng-zib's resentment, seized on their Governor, put him in confinement, and shut up their gates. The fugitive Prince in despair went to Candj8r (a certain Chieftain of C8lies, a clan whose professed business is to rob and plunder on the highway and in villages), and implored his assistance. The man not content with having entertained and assisted the Prince with every thing which his means could afford, and with having personally served and

Affecting narrative of Prince Dara-shecoh's flight and adventures.

(87) Ahmed-abad, the Amadavat of the charts, is the same as Gudjrat, the Capital of a great Province of that name.

attended him with the humble deportment of a servant, gave him a strong escort of his banditties, who had orders to see him safe in the territory of Ketch, a Port that looks towards the frontiers of Iran. Here he seemed to have seen a ray of hope. The Prince was hardly arrived in that territory, when he was unexpectedly joined by a body of fifty horse and two hundred foot, which were brought by a faithful servant of his, one G8l-mahmed, an Officer of rank, who abandoning his Government of S8ret-bunder, took with him as much money as he could muster ; and sacrificing his own safety, as well as his fortune and employment, to his attachment for this Prince, he came with that timely succour, and effected his junction with his old master, at a moment when every one was turning his back upon him. For the Prince, on the other hand, had been totally disappointed in the great hopes he had conceived from the Zemindar of Ketch, a powerful Lord, who in his days of prosperity, had sought his favour by betrothing his daughter to Sepehr-shecoh(88), son to the fugitive Prince ; the man was intirely altered now, and gave him a flat refusal on that subject. The Prince, obliged to quit his territory, was obliged to advance by Bacar, a country on the bank of the Send(89). There the Chandies, another clan of semi-barbarians who inhabit those parts and live under tents, assembled together with intention to seize on him, and to plunder his baggage ; nor was it without all the pains imaginable that G8l-mahmed with his small force found means to rescue him from their hands, and to carry him safe to the frontiers of the Mecsies, another semi-barbarous people, living also in tents. But here he was received with the greatest respect by Mirza-mecsi, who was the Chief of that clan. This Chieftain came upon the road, assisted him with money and other necessaries, shewed him every demonstration of respect, and took such a concern in his welfare, that he proposed his taking refuge in Iran or Persia, in which case he offered to serve as guide to the Prince and to escort him as far as Candahar ; he was even

---

(88) Sepehr-shecoh signifies as pompous as the firmament or as the sun. Dara-shecoh, as pompous as Dara or Darius. M8rad-baqsh (very often now the name of a dance-girl) signifies the grantor of wishes ; the completion of desires. Aoreng-zib, the ornament of the throne.

(89) *Alias Indus; alias Atec.*

very urgent on the necessity of taking such a party. But the Prince, under the actual influence of his adverse fortune, did not listen to his advice. He seemed to be the man pointed out by the Poet in these verses :—

"When fortune turns her back on a brave man,

"He never fails to do precisely what he ought not to have done."

The Prince in compliance with the advice of some zealous, indeed, but short-sighted and unexperienced friends, resolved to seek an asylum in the territory of Melec-djiven, a powerful Zemindar of those parts, who owed him the highest obligations. This Zemindar or Prince had been many years ago condemned by Shah-djehan for some crime to be made fast to the foot of an elephant ; and the sentence was going to be executed, when the Prince obtained his grace from his father, and thereby restored him to life. This Afghan, hearing of the Prince's distress, intreated him by letters, couched in the most respectful style, to come and repose himself in the territories of a man who was his grateful devoted servant ; and the Prince, who judged of that man's feelings by his own heart, took that road, in hopes that with so powerful an assistance he might possibly retrieve his affairs. Good God, what a fatal mistake !—That infamous, ungrateful, unfeeling wretch was all this while endeavouring to bring the Prince within his power, with a firm intention to ingratiate himself for ever with Aoreng-zib by unexpectedly complimenting him with such a present, that is, with the person and life of a benefactor, to whom he owed no less than his own life. The infernal Afghan, having set out with such a design in his accursed breast, met the Prince on the road ; and with all the artifice and all the hypocrisy so conspicuous in the devil, his prototype, he brought him to his palace, where he seemed so intent on serving him, that he lulled his mind into a thorough security. Unfortunately for the Prince, it happened that his consort, worn down by the fatigues and other hardships of so precipitate a flight, as well as overcome by her grief and sorrow, fell into an ill habit of body, which rest might have cured, but which continual grief and endless fatigue had rendered mortal ; and she expired in a few days in the arms of a beloved husband, whom her sex forbade her to follow, but whose parting her tender heart could never bear. A most affectionate attachment had

at all times subsisted between this unfortunate couple ; and this unexpected stroke overwhelmed the disconsolate Prince under the load of some mountains of grief and woe. His mind, fatigued by his adverse fortune, had seemed to flag even before this ; but now he fell prostrated, and seemed to have lost his senses. Thinking himself in perfect safety with Melec-djiven, he parted with G8l-mahmed, that brave soldier, who had prodigued his blood and fortune for him, and had come to his assistance from so far, at a time when he was alone and past all assistance ; he joined to him the eunuch Maac8l, a brave zealous servant, who had already shed his blood in his defence ; and he ordered those invaluable friends to take their best men with them, and to carry the coffin of the Princess to Lahor, where she was to be entombed in the Mausoleum of Mollahmir Bedaqhshani<sup>(90)</sup>, who had been the Princess's patron Saint. Nor were they to return, but after having acquitted themselves of that office. On the departure of those two invaluable men, the Prince remained alone in his enemy's house, with only some eunuchs, some menial servants, and a number of such useless impotent people. But hardly were those two men gone, when a smell of treason spread all over the house of that abominable Afghan, and at last affected the olfactory nerves of the Prince's understanding. His confidence turned into fear and dismay ; he repented of his having trusted that infernal man ; and without saying a word of his discovery, he expressed a desire of going to Candahar. The man so far from disapproving the design, offered to escort him in the voyage ; and having accompanied him to the next stage, he requested his permission to return in order to provide some necessaries, leaving at the same time with the Prince, a brother of his, at the head of a strong body ; and this brother had orders to arrest him and to bring him back. The brother, having suffered the Prince to advance two or three cosses more, at once arrested all his retinue, disarmed those defenceless people, and having laid his infamous hands upon the Prince and his little daughter, he had the heart to carry them back, together with the women attached to his person, and all that disconsolate impotent

---

(90) Bedaqhshan is the name of a country of the Euzbeg-tartary, full of mines, and mountains ; it is from thence the world receives the Spinel Rubees. Its Capital bears the same name.

multitude that composed his retinue. All these he delivered to that accursed man, who had long ago conceived the design of arresting his benefactor, and killing his guest. He lodged the Prince and his forlorn family in a separate apartment, set a guard over them, and sent notice of what he had done to his two next neighbours, Radja Djehi-sing and Bahadyr-qhan, who both were in pursuit of the fugitive Prince. He at the same time informed Bakyr-qhan, Fodjdar of the country, of what he had done. The Fodjdar that very moment transmitted the letter to Court with a supplique of his own, and there came some moments after two suppliques more to the same effect, from both Djehi-sing and Bahadyr-qhan. Aoreng-zib on receiving these letters expressed his satisfaction, and ordered the military music to strike up, whilst his whole Court, with one voice, loaded Melec-djivan with curses, reproaches, and imprecations.

That Emperor, so zealous for the honor of religion, so full of piety and meekness, that brother so grateful for the important services rendered him by a brother, now in the abyss of distress, immediately dispatched a dromedary courier, with a -qhyalaat for the perfidious Afghan, changed his name into that of Baqht-yar-qhan (91), presented him with the command of two hundred horse, and the grade of a thousand, and directed Bahadyr-qhan to bring his prisoner to Court. The forlorn Prince being brought close to the Capital, an order came to put an iron collar round his neck, with cuffs and chains on his hands and feet, and to carry him in procession from the Lahor-gate to the Chandni-chock (market or square), so as to pass by two of the gates of the citadel; from whence he was to proceed along the streets and markets, to Saad-ollah-qhan's Square; after which he was to be carried to the Qhavvass-p8ra, in old Delhi; there to be confined in the apartment called Qhyzr-abad. Meanwhile the officer, Bahadyr-qhan, was introduced to the presence, where he was received with much distinction, and loaded with favours. The next day that infernal Melec-djiven, now Baqht-yar-qhan, was to come to Court. That abominable wretch having been hardy enough to make his appearance in broad daylight, was no sooner descried in his way to the citadel, as he

(91) These words signify the *Lord Companion of my Good Fortune*, *befriending my Good Fortune*; and also the *Lord befriended by Fortune*.

was crossing the Chandni-chock, than he and his Afghans were loaded with curses and execrations by some of Dara-shecoh's slave-boys, who being immediately joined by a number of shopkeepers, and all the idlers that thronged the streets, the Afghans were assaulted with baskets full of dung and dirt, with clods of earth, and with brick-bats and stones ; and the attack was made with so much fury, that numbers of them were killed on the spot. Nor could the traitor have escaped himself, had not the Cutval, or Police officer, run to his assistance at the head of a detachment of the Imperial Guards, who rescued him alive from the hands of that enraged multitude ; for now the people standing at their doors or upon their terraces, loaded the Afghans with execrations ; and proceeding from words to blows, a general sedition was insensibly rising, when the Cutval and the guards making their appearance, put an end to the tumult. The people dispersed, and the Cutval carried the Afghan safe to the citadel.

Upon inquiry it was found that the tumult had arisen from some of Dara-shecoh's slave-boys, and from some of the Ahedian guards ; and these the religious Emperor, scrupulously attached to the forms of law, would not order to be put to the sword. He only applied to the Musties and the ecclesiastical doctors, from whom he asked what the law decreed against such seditious insolent people ? And the doctors answered. "*That as the commission of a little evil for the attainment of a mighty good was lawful in some cases, and expedient in others, there might be no harm in putting to death people convicted of having opposed the Qhalif's(92) intention, or resisted his command's.*" After this sentence those unfortunate people, who so far from having acted by premeditated malice, had only given way to the violence of their feelings, were all seized and executed with all the forms of law. Some days after this execution, he assembled all the doctors, and in frequent assembly produced a certain literary performance of Dara-shecoh's, where the latter seemed to inculcate the precepts of Quietisme, and Mysticisme, and openly to give his approbation, and even preference to some tenets of the Gentoo-law. The performance being

(92) The Emperors of Hindostan are, as well as the Turkish Monarchs, reputed Qhalifs, or successors to Mahomet ; and both the one and the other assumed that title in their Coins and their Diplomas.

unanimously acknowledged to be his(93); and he being also acknowledged to have pronounced these verses that highly reflected on the Musulmanisme, and strongly favored of infidelity ;—

“ Both believers and unbelievers seek God in their homages ;

“ And both say in their respective languages, there is no God, but God ;

“ and that He has no companion.”(94)

“ he was adjudged to have stretched his feet out of the paling of “the faith and religion, and to have displayed the standard of “heresy, for which crime he might be punished with death : “some even voted that it was meritorious to put him to death.” This answer having been re-examined by those scrupulously religious doctors, was confirmed by their signatures and seals ; and the unfortunate Prince was made an example of, to terrify the pretenders to the Crown. This event happened in the month of Zilhidj, that month of rejoicing for the Musulman people, and in the year 1069, of the Hedjrah(95). His body that had been alive but a few days ago, was now seen lifeless, stretched upon an elephant, and carried in procession, through the same streets and markets along which the Prince had been full of life but a few days ago ; after which, it was inhumed in the monument of his glorious ancestor, Soltan H8moy8n. This execution was followed by one less affecting, but no less cruel. There was a Fakir named Shah-sermend(96), whose only crime was to have deeply felt

(93) This book contained a comparison of the Mahometan and Gentoo laws, and proposed expedients to reconcile the two religions. It is intitled *Medjmoa-i-bahrein*, or junction of two Seas, and is extant to this day. It is written with warmth.

(94) This, properly speaking, is the profession of the Musulman faith, but so modified in its last word, as to be levelled against Christians, called associators in the Coran and by Musulmen in general, as the latter accuse them of adoring three Gods, and of giving to God for a companion a man, who had lived and died like a man.

(95) The tenth of Zilhidj is set apart to commemorate Hibrahim's intended sacrifice of his eldest son, Ismael. A ram at least is sacrificed, and killed by each head of family, who must roast and eat some part of it, and distribute the rest to the poor ; new clothes are given to the family, alms bestowed on the needy, inimities put an end to ; quarrels quashed, and pardons asked from any one who may have been offended. Nor is the sacrifice acceptable if any offended man remains unsatisfied.

(96) This Shah-sermend must have been a man of importance to have been buried in so sacred and so superb an edifice as the Cathedral of Delhi ; for that Cathedral is of white marble, and one of the finest buildings in the world, without

Dara-shecoh's misfortunes, and to have expressed a warm attachment for his person; even so inoffensive a man fell under the animadversion of the ecclesiastical doctors, who, to gain the reigning Prince's favour, never fail to give precisely such an answer as is expected from them. Those Pagan doctors sentenced him to death; and other men as Pagan as the doctors, put the sentence in execution. His body was carried to the Cathedral of Shah-djehan-abad, by a multitude of people who buried it in a corner of the yard.

Such people were punished with death, as a matter of course; but the Commanders and Collectors of Aoreng-zib's own appointing, were, meanwhile, suffered to prey without controul upon the vitals of the people; and the Zemindars, those miscreants so often punished by the late Emperors for their extortions upon travellers and merchants, and for their setting up again on the highways exactions abolished and condemned longwhile ago, were suffered to pass unnoticed. Nor did any of those religious doctors adjudge to death any one of those eternal oppressors of mankind, were it but to make an example that might repress and deter others of a similar stamp; nor did that religious Emperor, that Champion of the faith(97), think so much as once of affording his people so necessary a piece of justice, or of throwing off his shoulders that load of curses and execrations which so many oppressed and ruined famlies were accumulating upon him. All these events are mentioned at length in the memoris left us by Hashem-aali-qhan-qhafi(98), the historian, who had been for a length of years in Aoreng-zib's Court, and had enjoyed employes and offices of consequence in his service, had

excepting anything in Europe. It was observed of the famous Zophani, one of the most eminent painters of this age, and who had lived seventeen years in Italy and seen Petersburg, Amsterdam, Vienna, London, and Paris, that on casting his eyes for the first time on that superb edifice, and the more superb one raised as a Mausoleum by Shah-djehan, at Agra, he screamed out: *Where is the case to cover so many beauties? For this is too fine to be exposed to the impression of the air.*

(97) This alludes to one of that Emperor's titles, Ghazy, or even Ghazi-eddin, a champion fighting for the faith. It is a title given to three Turkish Emperors, but assumed by all the Hindostany Emperors, who are deemed perpetually at war with Gentoos, or, as they are called, with Pagans.

(98) He was son to Qhoadja-mir; himself an Historian, and a man of a high rank, as well as his son.

lived with him as a friend, and had been present and witness to all the transactions he records—transactions which although mentioned with all the delicacy and precaution required by those times, nevertheless strongly delineate the real character of that hypocrite. It is from those memoirs I am extracting what I say; and he is my voucher and evidence. He reports expressly, that a number of duties and tolls long ago abolished by the late Emperors, and no more borne upon the books, were nevertheless set up again, and with impunity levied by his own Collectors and Fodjdars, against whose exactions shoals of oppressed people repaired in bodies to Court, and exposed their grievances in his presence with a great deal of vociferation; but this, instead of producing some supplice, or some severe example that might deter others, was answered only by threatening letters, and by orders to inquire into the allegations, as if scrupulously to conform himself to the precepts of the law, with orders that inquiry should always precede punition. A few of them were punished by a diminution of military grade, or by dismission; but it was only until they might be reinstated again at the recommendation of their protectors and associates. The extortions and violences of the Zemindars upon travellers, merchants and other inoffensive people, rose to such a height in that reign, that whole caravans of people that came from visiting the house of God(99), were set upon in their journey homeward, and slaughtered; and consorts and daughters of Musulmen were carried away by Gento pagans as so much fair booty; nor is there mentioning with decency the enormities committed by those miscreants, who acted everywhere with as much authority as if they had been so many officers appointed by Government. But the latter were not less forward than them! Those men who are stationed from the Port of Surat up to the gates of the Capital, on purpose to protect travellers, and especially that particular sort of travellers, availed themselves of their stations to come in for a share of the booty; and

(99) The Caaba or square house which in the temple of Mecca, is the object of the Musulman pilgrimage, and not, as Christians fable it, the Prophet's tomb, which is at ten days' journey from thence. The holy places in the Arabian Irac are Kerbelah, where is the tomb of Hussein, and C8fah, where Aaly is buried. There are some other holy places also in Irac-arebi or Arabian-irac.

after having detained those poor people two or three days together, they despoiled them of the very clothes upon their backs, and dismissed them naked, on finding that nothing else was to be had from them. The above historian relates that he had seen numbers of such people, who after having visited the house of God, in Hedjaz, and the holy places in Irac, were returning to their homes, when they met with the most crying violences from those very guards stationed for their protection. Some being despoiled of their very clothes, were perishing with heat or cold<sup>(100)</sup>, and some were expiring of their wounds in the neighbouring fields ; nor was there a sympathising soul throughout the whole Court to listen to their groans, or to administer them relief ; none to hear their sobs, but God almighty ; none at all ; and when at last these violences and enormities came to be mentioned at Court, there was not a Doctor, not a Musti, to answer, that *to commit a small evil for the attainment of a mighty good, was lawful and expedient* ; none, to adjudge to a condign supplice a few at least of those merciless oppressors, as an example and warning to others. No one thought of asking, and no one of resolving the question, *Whether some drops of guilty blood were not to be shed in retaliation for so much innocent blood that had run by torrents.* All these were matters of small moment, forsooth, and such as admitted delay and deliberation ; but to put to death and imprison his brothers, to confine their consorts and children, to keep for years together his own father in a grievous confinement—all these were matters that required the utmost dispatch, and admitted of no deliberation, and no delay ; for adjudging all these to instant death, the religious Emperor, that Champion of the law, had always at his elbows and in his pay, plenty of doctors and plenty of men skilled in the art of expounding the law. To save appearances, however, and to acquire a character for sanctity and submission to the law, he raised the power of the ecclesiastics to the utmost height, and meanwhile made it a point to abstain from the most lawful amusements.

(100) The Reader must be informed that from February to April the weather, although sultry by day, is chilly by night, especially before the dawn of the day ; so that a man has full occasion for his clothes all over the East, from Aleppo to the Ganges.

There were at all times in the Imperial pay a number of comedians and other imitators and satirists of human actions. These he continued in his service, and even increased their salaries, but he forbade their singing and dancing; and at the same time he exiled the Poets and Astrologers from his Court. And whereas the accounts of the pay and receipts of the apanage holders were hitherto kept by solar months, according to the course pointed out by the Yonani (Yonian) Calendar(101), he consented that the above method should continue in the above particular part, but forbade it in any other part of the public Registers, ordering that they should be kept by lunar months according to the Musselman system. He abstained likewise from prying into futurity according to the rules of the Yonian system, and was so little superstitious on those articles that the Tuesday and Thursday, those days generally held ominous by all the world, he set apart for his days of going on a progress, or for setting out on an expedition. He now commenced abstaining from jewels or any rich stuff, rejected any other colour than the white(102) in his own apparel, and he forbade any one of his Grandees to be admitted in his presence, that should wear either rich stuffs, jewels, or gaudy colours; so that simplicity became now the etiquette of the Court. These alterations, which deprived an infinity of families of their bread, were taken to task by the singers and farcers, who having put a richly clothed figure of clay in a coffin, carried it in procession throughout the principal streets, whilst some other took care to throw quantities of dirt at it as it went by; and all this under the very windows of the

(101) The author means the Greek, or Ptolomean Solar System. The ancient Greeks are not known in the Eastern books by any other appellation than that of Ionians, and it would be easy to prove that they had themselves no other generic appellation for their own nation; for the *Helines* were only the European Greeks.

(102) He was a great admirer of the white colour, (a colour, by the bye, which seems to be pointed out by the very heat and dustiness of the climate) and he used to say that if it was a colour made up by art, he would reserve it for the Imperial family. The dress at Court, even in winter, is the white, and it is also the general colour used by all the inhabitants of India, high and low. Since the Abdalies have come to cut so great a figure in Hindostan, their dress, which is the Persian, is become of fashion, especially in winter; and of course coloured and rich stuffs are admired especially at the Court of Lucknow. However, it must be remembered that fine cotton stuffs, embroidered or not, are more costly in India than either Silks or Brocades.

apartment where they knew the Emperor to be actually sitting. On his asking what was meant by such a shew, he was answered, that singing and rejoicing being dead, the comedians and singers(103) were carrying the corpse to the grave. “*And so “they may,” replied he, “but let them take care, lest, in “contrariety to the law of God, the dead should seem to move “in his grave, or pretend to speak or sing.”* There is in the Capital a standing custom transmitted down from the ancient Emperors of Delhi, and to which all their successors had religiously conformed ; namely, that of shewing themselves every day at a certain hour to their subjects from the Octagon Tower, on the water side, where thousands and ten thousands of both Mussulman and Gentoos came to enjoy the sight of their Princes, but of Gentoos especially, many of whom make it a religious duty never to sit down to their meal unless they have seen the reigning Prince first. These Gentoos are called Dursunnees(104), and this practice had become a very respectable tenet amongst them. This custom he abolished, disobliging, hereby, to no purpose at all, an infinity of loyal subjects. Suppose it to have been an absurd custom in the Gentoos, still it did him no harm. It was a ridiculous tenet of theirs, and an absurd one. Be it so ; but what harm was there in letting it remain amongst so many other absurd tenets and ridiculous practices of theirs ? At any rate, it was an innocent one.

As to his Doctors, Cazies, and Ecclesiastics, he gave them so much authority, and allowed them such an unbounded sway, that their perpetual interference came at last to obstruct the wheels of government, and to disgust, as well as to deprive of

(103) The Indians have no other comedies than such farces as were known in Europe three hundred years ago, but with this difference, that they never mix any thing religious in their performances, and that these exhibitions, on the other hand, were always decent, and often chaste. But since the Abdali or Persian dress, and even the Pesht8 language and modes and customs, have come to give the ton to the Courts of Delhi and Lucnow, many shocking indecencies, mostly of the dissenting kind, are admitted, and much laughed at, in those comedies ; moreover, the very dances, which were both graceful and modest in India, have been tainted with that style. So that even women now dance the Caharvara (or Chairmen’s dance), a dance which would be akin to the Spanish fandango, danced by sailors, were it danced by men mixed with women ; for it is these only that dance it, dressed in Chairman’s garbs.

(104) From the ancient word *Dursun*—sight.

all power, the Governors of Provinces, the Collectors of the Revenue, the Fodjards and the military Commanders, all of whom fell into a neglect of the duties incumbent on their stations, and by their inaction gave rise to an infinity of disorders; insomuch that all the ancient rules of Government were set aside, all ranks were confounded, and an universal neglect and indifference took place everywhere. Hashem-aaly-qhan-qhafi, the Historian, relates that the Emperor having appointed Abdolvahab, a citizen of Ahmedabad, to the office of Cazi of Cazies, or Supreme Judge, he suffered him to assume so much authority in all matters of revenue and Government, that the Ministers themselves thought it incumbent upon them to keep fair with such a man, and to husband his good will; after having experienced to their cost, that it was in vain for them to find nothing but artifice and collusion in his conduct, and to accuse him of being intent only on amassing money. And of this we have a very strange instance in the following story, which, as well as so many others, is upon record:—

Whilst the illustrious Moqhtar-qhan was Governor of Burhanpur (and he was a nobleman allied both to the Emperors of Iran and to those of Hindostan), the office of Supreme Cazy of that Province was bestowed on Mahmed-saleh, a man born in the East<sup>(105)</sup>, who being supported by the Emperor's favor and known countenance, became so enterprising, and assumed so much authority, that the Governor-General himself seemed to bend under his authority. Once Moqhtar-qhan happened to concern himself for a man against whom another had set up an obsolete claim for a house, claim which the whole city, as well as the Governor-General, knew to be superannuated. But the Judge, by admitting the testimony of two witnesses in opposition to the evidence of the Governor and of most of the Grandees of Burhanpur, adjudged the house to the claimant, were it but to shew his power in opposition to that of the Governor's. The latter, unable to withstand the Cazy's decision, retired in disgust. A few days after, another similar cause being brought before the Judge, and it being again decided in a similar manner upon

Extreme authority and overbearing pride of the Ecclesiastics under that reign.

<sup>(105)</sup> P8rub. Bengal, Bahar, and A8d are understood by that general expression at Delhi; but Bang is the real name of Bengal, and signifies South-east, as P8rub signifies East.

the evidence of those two men, the Governor, with a number of creditable men, stood up and accused them both of perjury; on which both the men acknowledged themselves guilty of the charge. The Governor upon this public acknowledgment turned to the judge and said: "*These are those same men upon whose contemptible evidence you have deprived some days ago that poor man of his house, against the general conviction and universal testimony of all the citizens of Burhanp<sup>r</sup>.*" The Cazy, aware of Moqhtar-qhan's intention, became angry, and he answered in these words: "*I suppose, sir, that your intention was only against me, whom you wanted to render ridiculous; but I inform you that you have rendered the law itself ridiculous, as well as it's proposed; and of course, that you have fallen under it's lash, and have merited corporal punishment. The credit of these two witnesses does not seem to be yet affected; it is so far intire, that should those same men stand up now, and give evidence that you have drunk wine yesterday, I would condemn you immediately to the chastisement decreed by the law*(106). *As to those that prevaricate, the law is clear on that head.*" This said, he ordered the beards and whiskers of those two men to be shaven, their persons to be seated upon an ass, with their faces besmeared with dirt, and turned backwards, and then to be confined in prison, after having been carried in derision throughout the principal streets and markets of the city. One of those two men poisoned himself on hearing this sentence; and the Cazy resigned his office, and retired to his house. This retreat consterned the Governor, who sensible how addicted was the Emperor to ecclesiastics, and apprehensive that he might take this affair very ill, thought it expedient to pay a visit to the Judge, and to engage him to resume his functions with as overbearing a sway, and as offensive a haughtiness as ever; nor did he reap from all this affair any thing but shame and repentance. Nevertheless, the Emperor with all his prejudices came to open his eyes at last. Finding that the ecclesiastics troubled and overset the whole administration, and that nothing would go forwards unless he employed the Gentoos again in his service, a set of men who, either as powerful Princes, or as keeping the books

---

(106) Twenty-five lashes.

and registers of the Revenue, were the axle-trees of the wheels of Government, he contrived to take his revenge of that loyal submissive people, by loading them with new impositions, exacting double duties from those of that description, and submitting them to a poll-tax—innovations which after all gave him a deal of trouble, and produced nothing but repentance. For such ordinances require a strong hand, and a great exactitude, so as to subdue equally the highest and lowest of mankind ; and when they affect only the impotent, without having any energy over the headstrong and refractory, they cease to be laws and they dishonour all Government. After all, it must be remembered that as Princes and Kings are reputed the shadows of God, they ought, in humble imitation of His divine attributes, to accommodate themselves to the dispositions and minds of their subjects, so as to carry an equal hand over them, without exception, without predilection, and without shewing a dislike or hatred to any description of men. Such impartiality is incumbent upon Princes, if they intend to be the fathers and cherishers of the people entrusted to their care, and if they really wish that every man should look up to the Monarch as to his benevolent forgiving father. This is a duty incumbent upon them, if they wish that every one should think himself happy under their government. For the subject must be cherished in the very palm of the Monarch's hand, if the Monarch really intends to discharge his duty, and to let the world see, that he feels all the meaning of these verses of Saadi's :

Singular  
sentiments of  
an Asiatic,  
which ought  
to be written  
in letters of  
gold upon  
the gates of  
all the Princes  
in Europe.

"That beneficent Being which from its invisible treasury  
 "Feeds, with an equal hand, the believer, the unbeliever, the weak,  
     " and the strong,  
 "Might, if it had so pleased, have created men of one opinion,  
 "Or have converted them at one word to one and the same religion."

If, then, conversion is intended, lenity and benevolence especially to the poor and impotent, will go a great way in reconciling the hearts of mankind. Let then Kings and Monarchs look day and night into the book containing the actions and sayings of the Prince of Prophets and Chief of messengers ; let them admire with what sweetness and forbearance that Noble Being used the unbelievers of his time, his personal enemies(107),

(107) This assertion of the Author's, which is strictly true, militates strongly against that envenomed opinion scattered all over Europe, that Musulmanism has

and how he opened the recesses of those stubborn understandings with the key of his goodness and liberality ; let them admire how he softened the ulcers of those cankered hearts of theirs, with the balsam of his good manners ! He gained their hearts at last so far as to convert them into so many friends, whom he associated to himself in his wars and expeditions ; but whom he also knew how to keep in such a state of inferiority, that none of them could pretend to an equality with him, although every one of them was invested with some command.

---

been propagated by the sword, and that Mohammed never converted any one otherwise. There is a very short answer to such an assertion, endlessly and most impudently repeated and inculcated all over the world, and it is this : a gross falsehood and a gross error. Never did Mahomet convert any one with the sword, and never did Musulmanism force any one to a conversion. This is so far true that (to omit numerous instances) Ab8-sofian, uncle to Mahomet, but his mortal enemy, that man whom he took prisoner and whom he appointed to the Government of Taif, his native country, died an unbeliever ; and moreover, rallying at his nephew, now universally acknowledged as Missionary from God ; and we may remember that the Jews, especially those of Qhaibar, to whom he seems to have returned all the aversion they bore him, those men guilty of so many bloody actions and so many perfidies, never experienced at his hands a harsher treatment, than that of paying to him a third of the product of their date-trees. Here is mo.e. He was poisoned by Djoveira, one of their daughters ; he knew it, and never offered any thing more than a confirmation of that tribute. As to the forced conversions said to have been worked by the Musulmanism, all over the world, here is what all the earth deposes. Without mentioning the Maldivas, the Malabar, the Eastern Peninsula, all China, all Tartary, all that endless Archipelago of the Indian Ocean, all Habissinia, all Negro-land, &c., &c., countries, where the Musulman arms never penetrated, it may be said with great truth that forced conversions are unknown to the Mahometans ; and without looking at the present state of Musulman countries, which swarm with churches, Priests, and Christians ; without minding the Turkish dominions, where there are as many Christians as in the British dominions ; without minding Hindostan, where Gentoos are to Musulmans as three or four to one ; without recurring to Spain, where the latter Musulmans would have been happy to experience one-tenth part of that lenity which they had themselves shewn, some centuries before, to those very Christians, now become their conquerors ; without alleging all that, a Musulman might challenge any man to point out one single village from Tours in France to the Cape of Good Hope and to China, where the Musulmans have forced any one to quit his Religious tenets, inorder to embrace theirs. As conquerors, indeed, they have established their Religion in the conquered countries, because they settled themselves in them, and built Mosques, and married and propagated, just as the English have established their religion in Calcutta, and the French in Pondichery. But will any one, except he be a Divine indeed, come foward and tell us that either the Musulmans or the English have ever laid hold of a man, and told him, *Embrace our tenets, or we will kill you*

## V E R S E S .

" Never take your ownself for the standard to which virtue can rise  
    in a virtuous heart;

" Nor ever confound *Shir* and *Shir*(108) although they be written alike.

One would think that a Prince, so zealous for a religion that recommends meekness, and enforces mercy, must have been remarkably tender-hearted; and here are some instances of that tenderness of heart: He kept his eldest son confined for years together for no other reason, but because that young unexperienced Prince had joined Soltan-shudjah, his maternal uncle, in his wars of Bengal, in hopes of becoming his son-in-law. It is true that the Prince repented of his rashness, and came back of himself; but it is no less true that he was punished with a severe confinement; and this was also the usage offered to his other son, Sultan Muazzem, since Bahader-shah, who was accused of intriguing with Soltan-ab8l-hasen, surnamed Nana-shah, King of Haiderabad. The Prince, with his sons and family, instantly? And yet it is exactly what another religion has said, and has been saying to this day to all mankind. The Musulmans being originally, not the scum of a little ignoble obscure people, but conquerors, used constantly to say to the conquered, *Be our subjects, and pay us a poll-tax, as such. Do you dislike it? Then be our brethren, become of the same religion; and down with the tax.* But there is another religion in the world, which has been at all times a scene of blood and massacre, and which would be so to this very day, had not mankind become extremely cold and indifferent on that article. That religion, so early as ninety years after its foundation, had, even then, men who would strike a Roman Governor sacrificing to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*, and reproach him with that act of allegiance. It had men who so early as Diocletian's time could in revenge set on fire an Emperor's palace, and in time massacre his consort and sisters and children. That religion never said to any one, *Be our brethren, or pay us a tribute, and remain as you are.* But it has been saying for seventeen hundred years together: *Throw away your idols, and take ours, or we will cut your throats immancably.* And this merciless sentence has been loudly and over and over thundered out to all mankind from the Baltic to the Aller, in Saxony, and from England and France, to America and to India. It has been thundered out to an infinity of people who would have been glad to keep their religion on paying a tribute, on paying it double and triple. No wonder then, if a Musulman of some learning and knowledge has told us more than once, (and we have been only repeating his own reasoning), that after having carefully examined the European assertion, he could not find a single village where the Mahometan religion might have been introduced by the sword or by artifice; whereas, neither his reading nor memory could afford him one single instance where the other religion has been propagated otherwise.

(108) These words are written alike in Persian, and signify, the one *Milk*, and the other *Tiger* or *Lion*.

and some of his trustiest eunuchs, was confined for a number of years ; and in this long confinement he suffered numberless affronts and hardships, in which Nor-en-nessa-begum, his beloved, his sensible and learned consort, was joined to him, for she would not part with her husband on any terms. His eunuchs underwent a variety of hard usage and even torments, to make them confess their master's guilt; but as nothing could be proved that way, and nothing came out of their mouths, he rightly concluded that he would be accused of injustice and hardness of heart. He sent the Prince word that he had better confess his misdemeanors, and ask his pardon, as such a confession would conduce to his safety in this world and the other. The Prince with an admirable presence of mind answered directly, *That although it was true that man never could repay the obligations he had to the Divine Goodness, and of course was guilty and defective, yet as he was not conscious of the crime laid to his charge, he could not of course confess himself guilty of it.* The father was shocked at his answer; and this resentment rising to a pitch, he increased the rigours of his son's confinement, and carried matters so far, that the Prince was debarred the use of suitable clothes and aliments, and condemned to live without paring his nails, shaving his head, clipping his beard, or bathing his body; so that for a length of time, he was himself, with his whole family, obliged to undergo these hardships.

This suspicious temper seemed to be the basis of the Emperor's mind, and it alienated every heart. He had inherited a number of Generals and Ministers that had been formed by his father, the illustrious Shah-djehan, that second Lord of the Conjunction. They were all men of merit and abilities, such as had repeatedly given proofs of an undaunted bravery and an inviolable fidelity; such in one word as have their names living to this day in the recording pages of history. Even these were ill used by that suspicious, ungrateful man; nor is there any single one amongst them, that has been happy under his government; so far from it, that they were perpetually exposed to that suspicious temper of his, which took umbrage at every thing, and discontented all the world. Hence the reason why he never succeeded fully in any one of his undertakings, and why by the connivance and secret disinclination of his Generals, he often

suffered the most disgracious checks, and the most shameful mis-carriages; and all that by his own fault, for whatever he saw was of his own seeking. Some neglects and ruinous mistakes of his are recorded at length in Hashem-aaly-qhan-qháfi's history; but we have many instances of his unforgiving vindictive temper.

Generosity, magnificence, and compassion to strangers are qualities so conspicuous in the characters of the Emperors of the Sefi-race (109), (whose tombs may be ever resplendent with the rays of Divine mercy!) that they are become a matter of encomium and admiration to all the world; insomuch that none of their successors, no more than any of their predecessors, can come up to them in those heavenly qualifications, which they have constantly exercised towards several Kings and Princes of diverse nations. History is, to their eternal honor, full of such instances of their benignity; nor is a man in Hindostan uninformed of the extreme goodness and compassion shewn by them to some refugee Princes of the family of Babr, and especially to Homäy8n. Shah-soleiman himself (father to Shah-soltan-hosséin (110), although a Prince negligent, incapable, fanguinary, and immersed in all the abominations of daily crapule and endless debauch, nevertheless approved himself a great Monarch, when he received the Prince Ecber, son to Aoreng-zib, with a cordiality, and a generosity which nothing could equal but the father's baseness of mind, and his hardness of heart to his own son, or the perfidy of the heretical Prince of Mascat to his Royal guest. All these events are mentioned at length by Hashem-aaly-qhan-qháfi, who seems anxious to hang every one of them as so many pendants to the ears of attentive posterity. Whilst Aoreng-zib treated his own offspring in such a manner, it is curious to see what usage he offered to some Gentoo Princes, who had rendered him some services, but to whose race, as well to all Gentoos whatever, he had [a natural antipathy. Radja Djesvent-rathor, who had always been an ambitious restless Prince, and was more hated by him than any other Gentoo, became a great object of favor for him at once. Hearing that

(109) The Kings of Persia, of the Sefi family.

(110) Shah-soltan-hosséin, a weak Prince, was the last of the Sefi family, that reigned over all Iran. He was dethroned and confined by Mir-mahm8d, the Afghan, whose family was itself expelled by Tahmasp-c8ly-qhan alias Nadyr-shah.

he was come out of Gudjrat to Dara-shecoh's assistance, and that he had engaged him to try his fate in another battle in Adjmir, he prevailed upon him, by Radja Djehy-sing's interposition, to quit the Prince's party ; and for this worthy proceeding of his, he was rewarded with the military grade of seven thousand horse, and the rich Government of Gudjrat, with permission of never coming to Court. This Radja, on the cessation of the troubles in Decan, was appointed to the command of an expedition in Cab8l, where the officers under him being all Radjp8ts, equally bold and imprudent, two of them that happened to be his own sons, quitted the army without leave from Emir-qhan, the Governor of the Province, and on their return home presented themselves to the ferry on the Atec<sup>(111)</sup>, where being refused admittance, as they had no pass, they, like thoughtless young men, picked up a quarrel with the guards, and passed by force. But as Shah-djehan-abad lay full in their way to their homes, no sooner had they set a foot in its territory, than they were stopped by an Imperial command, whilst the Cutval with a body of troops received an order to surround them, and to prevent their flight. After some days, the Commanders and officers that were with those Princes, petitioned for leave to go on with their journey and to return home ; and this favor they easily obtained from the Emperor, who thought their departure so much the better for his design, as they would leave behind, as he thought, the children and consorts of the two Radjas, surrounded by his own troops. The officers having obtained leave, dressed the consorts of the two Gentoo Princes in men's clothes, and his two sons like two slave-boys ; and taking them in their retinue as so many menial servants, they left in their stead, some slave-boys dressed like Princes, and some waiting-maids, with the apparel and jewels of real Raries or Princesses ; at the same time a strong guard of trusty Radjp8ts being ordered to watch round the tents where the pretended Princes and Princesses were kept, they set out with the real ones, after having recommended to the Radjp8t guard to defend them manfully, should they be demanded, and to protract the engagement so as to afford to themselves that were setting out,

<sup>(111)</sup> Atec or Hindus, so called from Atecna, to stop or be stopped. See Note 264, *Section XVI*, and Note 89, *Section I.*

at least a delay of five or six hours ; after which time they might surrender their charge, as by that time the real Princes and Princesses would be already far off. This being agreed to, they departed ; and as soon as they were thought at a distance, orders came for bringing the Princesses to the Seraglio, and for reducing the young Princes to slavery. But by this time the secret had taken vent, and troops had been sent after the runaways, although in vain. Meanwhile the Radjp8t guard, after protracting the time under several pretences, at last refused to resign their charge, and in fact did not resign it, but after fighting valiantly, until they were all slain or wounded. In this manner their charge was taken possession of, the women were put in the service of some of the ladies of the Imperial Sanctuary, and the boys received against their will the seal of Musulmanism (112) ; and for a length of time a rumour prevailed that these were the real Princes and Princesses, and that

---

(112) It is surprising that a man, so well informed as our Author, should mention circumcision as the seal of Musulmanism. It is not so ; nor is there one single word about it in the Coran. It was barely an old custom amongst the Arabs, that had in Mahomet's time two or three thousand years of antiquity. The Author could not know that there are nations that use circumcision, together with baptism ; for instance, the Habissinians, and many others that have that bloody rite, without so much as having heard of Musulmanism ; and such are the Hottentots and some Americans, and even the Islanders of the South Sea. Nay, the Christians themselves, a hundred and fifty years after their appearance in the world, used throughout all Syria to circumcise as well as to baptise their proselytes—two rites equally common throughout all antiquity to several nations as well as to the Jews. But what proves beyond any doubt how little circumcision can be the seal of Musulmanism, is the variations under which it appears amongst the Arabians themselves, to say nothing of others. There are to the translator's knowledge four different kinds of circumcision amongst them ; and of this, he should never have suspected anything, but for an adventure that happened in 1769, during his two years' residence at Mecca. A girl just married, that lived in the story above him, leapt out of her bed at day-break, and running down stairs in the shop below, with every demonstration of contempt, horror, and amazement, she screamed out that her husband was a Nassara, or a Nazarean (a Christian), and lamented her hard fate. This Nassara was no less a man than Sheh-abbass-bedavi, our instructor in the rites of pilgrimage. He was forty years of age, born at Mecca, and this was his second wife. This uproar having brought about two hundred persons of all ages and sexes, within or about the shop, who all made a joke of the matter, and cracked high flavoured sarcasms upon it, I learned from several amongst them, (and two or three were so circumcised) that a few tribes in the deserts of Nadjd, west of Mecca, (where the bride was born and bred) had a particular circumcision peculiar to themselves ; and this deserves a description, on the supposition that the reader

the others were the counterfeit ones, set up on purpose to save Radja Djesvent-sing's honor.

Be it as it will, Aoreng-zib, who could not bear to have been outwitted, but who pretended to act only by a principle of

---

knows already some thing of the circumcision used in India; that circumcision is not about the prepuce; it is about the whole pubis, which it embraces in this manner. A man belonging to the family bids the youth (and he must be a Pubere) sit down under a tree upon a stone, and then with a razor or the point of a sharp knife, he marks into the skin a bloody line that circumscribes the top and lateral parts of the pubis, down to the lateral parts of the thigh which are closed to the scrotum. This done, he seizes the two corners with both his hands, and tears the whole down, so as to leave the pubis, the penis, great part of the scrotum, and part of the thighs bare. Good God! Is that credible? It is affirmed so, by hundreds of people that have no interest in imposing. Is it practicable without killing the patient? The translator has seen three such Arabs, and has heard of thousands; nor is it possible to impose such a tale on people that have a thousand times a year an opportunity of verifying the truth of it. But this is not all. All this while the youth has a sword in one hand, and a spear in the other, with the point fixed on his naked foot, whilst all the men and all the women of the family, or village, (nor are the virgins excluded) stand assembled about his person, and the orator or Poet of the clan (for each clan has one) addresses him in these words:—"No groan; no tear; take care that thy uncle once killed a lion, body to body; and that, being sent on a message to such a tribe, his provisions failed, and he travelled on five days together without eating, and two days without drinking. Thy father was a great warrior. He slew in battle such a one, and such a one wounded such a one, the famous Horseman. Having gone on an expedition towards Bussorah, he was caught by the Governor of that place, who ordered twenty candles to be run in several parts of his flesh, where they were left burning. Thy brave father did not utter a single groan, and he reproved your elder brother for so doing; and that brother held his tongue." When the ceremony is over, the youth stands up, brandishes his spear, and is caught in the arms of the women, who carry him, to an entertainment in the middle of the acclamations of the whole assembly. Mr. Francis Scott, our friend, who had made a dozen of voyages to several parts of Arabia, and spoke Arabic fluently, knew that singular custom; but he rendered it more credible and less painful. He said that the penis being previously circumcised as usual, the pubis, and only the pubis, was torn away with the ceremonies above. This is not all. Girls are also circumcised in that manner among those of that clan. And indeed there is nothing strange in that; for women are circumcised both in Egypt and in Habissinia. But although the translator had an opportunity of observing an old woman of that clan bathing at Medina, and he took care in a scuffle to overset a young woman of the same clan, he could not distinguish whether the absence, so remarkable in them, was owing to nature or to art; nor was this very difficult, for the young woman bore the court-dress of her desert clan: a short Smock that went no lower than the navel, and a short Petticoat (*id est*, Apron), both being of the best manufacture the desert furnished (*id est*, of goat's skin prepared).

religion, undertook an expedition against Dj8dēi-p8r, the Capital and original country of the Radjahs of the Rathor family, and of the ancestors of Djesvent's. The neighbouring Radja of Dj8dēi-p8r thinking his honor concerned in protecting the consorts and children of Radja Djesvent's, raised troops, and put himself upon his defence. The Emperor hearing of this, sent him word that he had better discharge the arrears due upon his poll-tax and dismiss from his territories the consorts and children of Radja Djesvent's; the Radja at first seemed inclined to comply, and he sent ambassadors to camp, who took care to soothe the Emperor, and to make him so easy, that in a few days he returned to his Capital, leaving Qhan-djhan with a body of troops and orders to receive the promised money, and to bring the country of Dj8dēi-p8r under controul. But as soon as he was gone, the Radja continued as refractory as ever. The Emperor extremely incensed, quitted the Capital a second time, and marched again into Adjmir against the Gentoo Prince. He also sent letters to Sultan Muäzzem, his eldest son, who governed the Decan, requiring him to come to Court in post; and another such command was dispatched to Azem-shah, who commanded in Bengal. Meanwhile the Imperial Prince Ecber, who was at Court, and in the very prime of his youth, received orders to march against the Radja; and the Prince's tutor, Shah-c8ly-qhan, having requested to lead the vanguard, was decorated with an augmentation of his military grade, and the surname of Betor-qhan; at the same time a number of veterans, commanded by officers of character, were ordered to attend him, and at last he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the expedition. The new General attacked the Rajp8ts, beat them everywhere, pursued them a long time, and reduced the nation to extremities; and it was at this very time that Sultan Muäzzem arrived at camp. He was ordered to march against a party of Radjp8ts that had fortified themselves at the Reservoir of Rana-sakur, distant about eight cosses from the Imperial camp. The other Imperial Prince, Azein-shah, arriving meanwhile, he was ordered to march against another party of Radjp8ts. The Rana, finding himself hard pressed, made up matters by an agreement, and at the same time he insinuated his notions so well in the young Prince's mind, that he engaged him to revolt against his

own father, against whom he undertook to support him immediately with an army of thirty thousand Radjp8t horse.

Prince Ecber, who had his own father's example before his eyes, thought it was very easy to revolt, and as easy to maintain a revolt, against him. But Sultan Muäzzem, who was attached to the young Prince, his brother, and had heard something of his design, wrote him a short letter of advice and reprimand; and he at the same time dispatched a supplique to the Emperor, to request his paying some attention to the intrigues of the Radjp8ts, who might avail themselves of the young Prince's youth and inexperience to engage him into some improper steps. The Emperor who had a perfect reliance on Prince Ecber's character, answered Sultan Muäzzem in these severe terms: "*I hope that God Almighty shall forgive you this enormous calumny, and afford you time to repent of it, so as that you may one day firmly walk upon the Bridge of Serat*"<sup>(113)</sup>, *in token of His having granted you a pardon for this disposition of yours to listen to rumours disadvantageous to others.*" This was the letter he wrote to his eldest son; but a little after he became necessarily convinced of his mistake, when he heard that the Prince Ecber had assumed the Crown, struck money in his name, created his tutor, Bethor-qhan, a Commander of seven thousand horse, and promotted every one of the Commanders and Lords that were with him to grades and employments in the Empire. Then he felt his own danger, the more so, as now he had about himself not one man of character but Assed-qhan and Behre-mend-qhan, with about eight hundred horse, and some clerks of the treasury; he therefore sent an order to Sultan Muäzzem to come immediately with his troops. The Prince, on this order, left his consort and family in his camp, recommending them to God Almighty; and setting out for Court with his two sons and a body of ten thousand horse, he arrived near the Imperial camp, where the Emperor, who remembered how he had used his own father, conceived suspicions against his eldest

(113) The Bridge of Serat is represented as a keen sharp blade stretching archways over the Abyss of Hell, upon which the just will walk steadily, and reach the gates of bliss that will be seen open beyond the bridge; but those who shall be reproached by their own consciences, shall walk tremblingly, and at last shall drop down into the gulf below.

Prince Ecber,  
younger son  
to Aoteng-  
zib, revolts  
against his  
father.

son, and directly sent him an order to leave his troops behind, and to come to the presence alone with his two sons. He at the same time ordered all his artillery to be pointed against his troops. The Prince complied with the order punctually ; and the Emperor, being now so strongly reinforced, turned his views towards Prince Ecber's people, and by dint of threats and promises, he engaged numbers of them to return to their allegiance.. Fortune favoured him so far, that his summons had almost a general effect ; fear seized both Prince Ecber and his councillors, and they all thought of escaping by flight. But meanwhile an order having been dispatched to the neighbouring Governors and Fodjdars to bring him prisoner, he suffered incredible hardships in flying day and night ; and after a variety of adventures, he arrived at last at the Court of Simba-dji, son and successor to Seva-dji, the Marhatta Prince. Simba-dji received him kindly, and assigned him a large pension ; but as his behaviour in other respects was not answerable to his guest's Imperial rank, the latter passed his time disagreeably, and pined away in discontent.

The Emperor, informed of the asylum he had afforded his son, and fatigued, besides, with the continual complaints sent by the Governors of Decan against the inroads and violences of those free-booters, resolved to undertake an expedition against them, with the double view of recovering his son, and of punishing the Gentoos. He called this *a sacred war*, undertaken against intractable infidels ; and setting out in the twenty-first year of his reign, which answers to the year one thousand and ninety-two of the Hedjra, he arrived in Decan, from whence he detached Yticad-qhan, son to his Vezir, Assed-qhan, with a numerous army of veterans and an immense artillery. His orders were to subdue Simba, and to bring Ecber ; for such were his proper words. The Prince, become now fearful for his safety and life, found means with about two hundred men that remained to him to make his way good to the sea-side ; where having procured a ship, he embarked with all his followers, and fled towards the country of Iran. In his navigation thither he met with a storm that disabled his ship, put his life in great danger, and after exposing him to an infinity of hardships, forced him to take shelter in the Harbour of Mascat. The Imam, or Prince of Mascat, at first received him with honour and kindness ; but in

Is abandoned  
by his  
troops.

Seeks an  
asylum with  
the Marhatta  
Emperor,  
Simba-dji.

Quits the  
Marhatta  
Court, and  
flies beyond  
the sea.

Is shamefully used by  
the King of  
Mascat.

the sequel he seized on his person, and put him under a guard. He at the same time wrote to the Emperor to inform him that he had such a person in his hands, and that he might be prevailed upon to surrender it on several conditions, which he specified ; two of which were, the sending of a sum of five lacs of rupees as a present, and the granting a general exemption of duties for ever to all the Mascatian vessels that frequented the ports of India. The Musulman Emperor, that Prince jealous of the honour of the law, that Champion of religion, was not ashamed to enter into that shameful treaty with that apostate heretic(114), and to grant him all his demands. He sent an order to the Governor of Surat, informing him of the general exemption granted to the Mascatian vessels, and commanding him to send a ship to Mascat, commanded by an able seaman, for the purpose of bringing up the Prince prisoner. The Governor cast his eyes upon one Hadji-fazul, a man who enjoyed the command of an Imperial ship by hereditary right, and who, having made many voyages in Arabia, was thoroughly acquainted with those parts. The man departed ; but hearing abroad, that Shah-sultan-soleiman, the Sefian, Emperor of Iran (whose tomb may for ever be illuminated by the rays of Divine mercy !), had granted an asylum to the fugitive Prince, and had used him with the most Princely kindness, he thought proper to come back. The detail of this surprising revolution is as follows :—

The Iranian Emperor was informed that a Prince of the Babrian blood having fled from his father's resentment, had resolved to take shelter in Iran ; but that being forced into the Harbour of Mascat by a tempest that had put his life in imminent danger, he had met with the most unworthy usage. The Imam or Sovereign of that country, having had the inhumanity to cast him in prison, and then the baseness to enter into a treaty for selling the unfortunate youth to his incensed father, the Sefian

---

(114) The Mascatians are of a particular sect, equally condemned by both Sunnies and Shyahs, but very brave, and so good seamen, as to have more than once beaten the Portuguese at sea, and made conquests on them in India, in this century. In short, they are a Naval Power in the Indian seas ; and possibly, it is to their sea-faring way of life, and to the mercantile genius which it fosters and nurses up, that we owe this singular request in favor of the Mascatian traders. This is the first time that an Eastern Prince has thought of procuring to his subjects an advantage in that line.

Emperor no sooner was informed of all the circumstances relative to this strange adventure, than he thought his honour concerned in rescuing a Prince that had been seeking an asylum in his dominions. His anger, that anger capable to set the universe in a flame, kindled at the baseness and treacherous conduct of the Mascatian Prince ; and he sent him a letter and message to this purport : “ *That he had a numerous army ready to chastise him for his infamous conduct ; and that if he delayed a moment to send to his Court a Prince who was under the safeguard of his name, or neglected to do it with the utmost honor and attention, he might rest assured that the army of Iran would cross over, put to fire and sword every part of his country, without distinction of age or sex, and destroy his own person, with his whole family!* ” The Mascatian King, on receiving such a threatening letter, was frightened beyond his wits. He altered his behaviour to the Prince, treated him with the utmost respect and honor, and having got him embarked in a ship of his own, with many presents, and every necessary piece of furniture for so great a Prince, he sent him over to Benderi-abbass(115). There the Prince landed ; and he immediately dispatched to Isfahan, the Capital of Iran, one of his followers, called Mahmed-hibrahim, who was a very sensible well-behaved man. His orders were to repair in all speed to the foot of that second Solomon’s throne, and to return to the Sefian Emperor his cordial thanks for his having so strongly concerned himself in restoring a forlorn Prince to liberty and safety. Shah-sultan-suleiman having heard Mahmed-hibrahim with the utmost benignity, dismissed him to his master, and got him accompanied by Mahmed Hashem-qhan, the Tabrizian, a Lord of his Court, with orders to bring the Prince with the utmost honor and deference, without sparing, in the journey, anything that might conduce to his ease, convenience, or pleasure. His orders were to treat him in all respects as his Imperial guest ; and as he came to hear that the territory of Benderi-abbass produced certain fruits extremely agreeable to Hindians, such as Ambas(116) and Anannases, and

(115) Benderi-abbass, *alias* Camran or Gambron, is over against Mascat, and on the Persian shore, a place as horribly hot as Mascat itself, but more unhealthy.

(116) Mangoes, Pine-apples, and Betels : three words unknown to the Indians, as being coined by the Europeans.

likewise a certain leaf called Paan, without the use of which those people became uneasy, an Imperial order was dispatched to the Governor of Benderi-abbass to take care, not only to furnish the Prince with those productions during his stay in that port, but likewise to send daily a sufficiency for his household, during his voyage to Court, and during his sojourn at the Capital. His Majesty had the attention to send secretly with the envoy a painter so admirable in his art of drawing like-nesses, that he seemed to work by some magical power, that exceeded the extent of human capacity. He had orders to examine the Prince with as much attention as secrecy, and to send his picture to Court ; the Iranian Monarch wishing to guess at the real character of his mind by the gait of his body, and the features of his face ; after which only he intended to give him audience.

After a long voyage the introductor Mahmed Hashem-qhan, the Tabrizian, arrived at Benderi-abbass, where he invited the Prince to Court, as he had taken every care imaginable to render the voyage, not only less irksome, but even pleasing. Being arrived at three cosses from Isfahan, he landed the Prince in a Royal garden and seat. This was no sooner known to Shah-Soleiman, than to show his high regard for his guest, he repaired thither to make him a visit. The Prince went out of the garden and park to see him alight, and he presented him with three pieces of jewel ; one of diamonds, the other of rubies, and the third of emeralds, all of exquisite beauty, and of an immense value. These he presented in compliance with the custom of travellers, who, at their return home, make small presents to their friends. The Monarch, to oblige his guest, accepted the present, and to do him honor, he stuck the three pieces of jewel into his turbant ; after which he embraced him with the utmost kindness, and then seating himself, he asked him about his health, and about his voyage. After the visit, he invited the Prince to the Palace prepared for him in the city ; and here also he displayed his magnificence as well as his hospitality. The road between had been covered with brocade, velvet, and Machlibunder-chintz(117), which in those countries bear a high price, and are

Who receives him with the utmost hospitality.

(117) Calicoes of Masulipatam. But this town is not the only place famous for its painted Linen ; the whole coast of Coromandel in a lengh of two hundred

in high esteem ; and it was upon this kind of pavement that the Monarch and the Prince proceeded on horseback. The Monarch's horse went on quietly and at an easy pace, but the Prince's horse proved extremely mettlesome, and at last turned so unruly as to trouble the whole cavalcade. This being observed by the grand equerry, he brought him another horse, and the Prince vaulting with agility from the one to the other, excited the admiration of the by-standers, and the applause of the Monarch. Shah-soleïman, being by this time arrived at a forked street, stopped short, and went to his Royal seat, after having requested the Prince to accept of the lodgings that had been fitted up for him, and which proved to be a Palace filled with every necessary and every convenience for himself and for his retinue. The next day the Monarch took again the trouble of making the Prince a visit in his new lodgings ; from whence, after a short pause, he brought him to the Royal Palace, where he made him sit on a Mesned apart, shewed him every mark of honor and regard, and entertained him the whole day ; at the end of which he dismissed him to his own lodgings, assigning for his subsistence a plentiful pension. After a certain time the Prince expressed a desire of returning to Hindia, and a hope that he would be assisted with a body of troops. The Monarch answered : “Expect nothing of that kind from me, so long as your father shall be alive. After his death, when the matter shall come to be debated between your brothers, I shall not think myself exempted from obliging and assisting you.”

After such a narrative (and there are some others that will follow) the candid reader shall have it now in his power to form a judgment of Aoreng-zib, of the Prince of Mascat, of the Monarch of Iran, and of some others. He will soon find the nobility or baseness of each character, and the vileness and infamy of each individual, and will thenceforth conclude for himself and make his choice of what models he intends for his pattern,

---

cosses is so ; and this beauty and adherence of the colours is owing to the peculiarity of the waters, some of which are admirable for the reds, some for the blues, &c. Painted Linen is made all over Hindostan, and of late in great quantities at Agra, Feroh-abad, and Lucknow. But G8djrat equals Masulipatam, which last word, by the bye, ought to be written Matchli-patan (Fish town), because of a whale that happened to be stranded there a hundred and fifty years ago.

and what for his detestation and contempt. After this digression, which we have thought of use, nothing remains now for us, but to return to our history, and to the Radjp8t Princes.

This escape of the consorts and children of Radja Djesventsing's (escape that did so much honour to the bravery and fidelity of the Radjp8ts), and this protection afforded him by the Ranna, added to the fatal consequences to which it gave birth, incensed Aorenz-zib to such a high degree, that he set out for Adjmir with an intention to destroy the Ranna's family. His hatred to Gentoos rose now to a pitch ; so that he ordered the Capitation-tax(118) to be raised rigorously, sent circular orders for that purpose throughout all the provinces, and enforced his commands with great asperity, both in his camp and Capital. As the Gentoos in that city amounted to several lacs, many thousands amongst whom were too poor to afford the tax, they assembled in vast multitudes under the place where they knew the Emperor was sitting, and they set up a plaintive tone of voice, which by degrees rose to the cupola of heaven. Aorenz-zib, so far from granting their request, did not so much as take notice of their sobs and complaints. The Gentoos conserned, but not without hopes, waited for the next Friday, when the Emperor was to go, as usual, to perform his devotions at the cathedral, and then they assembled by ten thousands and by lacs, so as to fill up all the space betwixt the gate of the citadel and the great mosque, together with the adjacent streets and lanes. The passage being intirely barred up, cries, sobs, and lamentations commenced on all sides, and little by little, they rose to the highest skies. No efforts were wanting to clear up the way, and the guards striking mercilessly over heads and hands, maimed and wounded numbers of people ; for all that, no passage could be cleared ; and no sooner had the moving throne advanced the length of two yards, than it was stopped short again. At last it became equally impossible to move backwards or forwards from the spot where it was jammed in ; nor could the Emperor move in his own throne, nor any man from his place ; and yet the throng seemed to increase, and it pressed so

The Capita-  
tion-tax en-  
forced by  
Aorenz-zib,  
against the  
Hindoos.

Their very  
singular and  
respectful  
way of com-  
plaining of it.

(118) One must not mistake so far the case as to suppose this tax anyways comparable to what it has been in England, and still less to what it is in France. Musulmen know nothing of such amazing taxes. See Note 119, *Section II.*

hard as to render respiration difficult. The Emperor, after pausing awhile, called for a number of lofty elephants, which carry the Imperial streamers and insignia, and had gone forwards ; he also commanded the elephants destined for the Imperial person, and he directed that they should be brought together, and made to force a passage by forming several ranks. The order being executed, numbers of people were under-trodden by the elephants, or wounded by the horses, grown unruly ; the rest fled to their homes, and expecting nothing from the Emperor's compassion, submitted to their fate, and paid the tax. All this mercilessness, and all this hardness of heart proved of little avail, and for very little purpose. His obstinate wars in Decan necessarily slackened the stiffness of the law. Nor did those very bloody battles, and very laborious expeditions of his, produce any very great advantage to the Empire ; for no man will attribute to the Emperor the battles fought, and the conquests made, in Decan, in Bengal, and in Asham, by those immortal Lieutenants of his, the heroes of the age, all Commanders equally intrepid and prudent ; for instance, Qhan-djehan-cocal-tash, the Lord of Lords, Müazzem the Moghul, the Afghans Dilir-qhan, Agher-qhan, and Da8d-qhan the Corëishy, and so many others who everywhere exhibited feats of prowess, that would have attracted the admiration of any age. All these were disgusted, one after another, on seeing the little notice taken of their services ; and the consequence of that disgust and universal discontent was, that several of his armies met with the most shameful and unaccountable defeats ; such, indeed, as it is difficult and improper to mention at length. Hence the reason why we find so great a chasm after the first ten years of that Prince's history, the analysts of his reign having been forbidden in the tenth year of it to continue their chronicles ; and hence the reason why after those ten years we find no detail of many parts of that long reign.

It is those very parts which the historian, Hashem-aaly-qhan-qafi, seems just to indicate, which I have expressly selected for publication, and which I shall mention here, in his own words, to save my own credit ; they are as follow :—*Although the analysts of those times were forbidden to continue in their chronicles the rest of that religious, that equitable Emperor's history, after those ten years ; nevertheless, some by-standers,*

and especially Mustáed-qhan, used to commit secretly to writing some of the events relative to the wars in Deccan, passing slightly over the blamable parts of his conduct, and insisting only upon conquests of cities and fortresses, and upon victories. But as this is far from filling up the chasm of forty remaining years, I have endeavoured to make up the deficiency by assembling from all parts, and bringing together in one point of view, some scattered members of knowledge and intelligence transmitted to posterity by by-standers equally impartial and clear-sighted. And as, notwithstanding that, I find no particular account of the second ten years of that incomparable Emperor's reign, such at least as is digested in months and years, and it is impossible, of course, to bring such a disjointed part into regular order, I have endeavoured to give some account of this second decade as far as the nineteenth year, by Comparing together the Gazettes sent to the presence, with the annals of several neighbouring provinces, as drawn up by witnesses present and unconcerned; and it is from such materials, that I shall endeavour to continue this historical account, taking it up at the twentieth year of that reign.

Qhan-djehan, after his expedition of Haiderabad, was disgraced, and he retired to his Djaghiry lands, where he died of a broken heart. That General had chastised the Markattas in such a manner, as to compel them to a quiet submissive behaviour, for some time before the arrival of the Emperor's victorious standards in those parts. Yet it happened that after the arrival of such numerous forces with the Emperor himself at their head; after the conquest of so many fortresses and cities; after spending so many corors of money, and full twenty-six years of his life in that expedition; those countries, at his death, were more unsettled than ever, and those infidels, so often beaten and vanquished, were become more warlike and more insolent than ever. They were settling their abodes upon the ancient territory of the Empire, and very often giving his armies shameful defeats, which cannot be attributed to any thing, but to that general discontent, and that universal disgust, that had spread among his officers and Ministers; disgraces which after having obscured the glory of his armies under his eyes, had extended to more distant provinces with a

*contagion and a rapidity hardly to be conceived; although such disgraces had never happened to Qhan-djehan, nor had he ever suffered such a defeat as might affect his character or endanger his honor. Nothing in that General's history, but famous battles, and glorious engagements. Besides his expeditions against the Kings of Bidja-p8r and Haider-abad, we see one continual series of heroical exertions, and so much Generalship and personal prowess, as to amaze the historians as well as the readers. The former relate of that General that, although he laboured then under the imputation of some underhand dealing with the Marhattas, he gave those insolent free-booters two defeats, that deserve to be recorded in the historical page. He was gone upon an expedition against them, and had advanced about forty or fifty cosses in their country, leaving the city of Aoreng-abad in his rear, when two of Simbadji's Generals, as great pillagers as ever existed, gave him the slip; and with thirty thousand horse, as famished of booty and plunder as themselves, they advanced to the very gates of that city with a firm resolution to plunder it. That populous city trembled, and saw its suburbs plundered and sacked. Qhan-djehan, informed of their intention, turned about and followed them with so much expedition, that when he overtook them, he had no more than two thousand horse with him. With these few he attacked vigorously, without giving time to the enemy to reconnoitre his numbers; and a bloody engagement taking place, he was performing wonders, and strewing the field with dead, when the rest of his troops arrived, and a general massacre commenced. It was remarked that wherever he fell, he never failed to mow down every thing about him. Whilst he was yet engaged with only his two thousand horse, the Marhattas found out his small numbers; and they were so encouraged by the discovery, that they attacked him repeatedly, and with so much vigor, that when his other troops arrived, he had only sixty troopers about his person (amongst these was Agher-ghan with his two or three brothers, and his son); and yet with these sixty men he was still a dangerous enemy. He detached himself from that small troop, overtook his own runaways, and by encouraging them with the voice and hand, he brought them back to the field, and engaged them to stand by him. It*

Brilliant  
character of  
Qhan-djehan

The famous battle of Hersol.

*was at this time that his other troops overtook him; at which sight even those that had fled far off, came back of themselves, and joined in the general massacre. It is this battle which is so famous all over those parts to this day, and is talked of with admiration all over Hindostan under the name of the Battle of Hersol.* The massacre was so general, and the number of Marhatta dead bodies so incredible, that a great number of towers and pyramids were raised with their heads made up with moistened clay, all round the city of Aoreng-abad. A vast number of cart-loads of Marhatta spears and bucklers was at the same time sent into the Citadel, together with an infinity of mares(119).

The second battle is recounted in this manner:—*He was encamped at about thirty cosses distance from Aoreng-abad, over against the Marhatta army, and ready to attack them, when he heard that a numerous cavalry had wheeled round his rear, and had marched straight to that city, in hopes of finding it defenceless and an easy prey. Qhan-djehan, leaving his son to oppose the enemy at the head of twenty thousand horse, set out with a select body, and one of the Radjahs that were in his camp. With these he measured thirty-five cosses in thirty hours, and arrived at about one o'clock in the morning within two cosses of the Marhatta cavalry, by which time he had no more than seven hundred troopers about his person. The moment was critical. "If we wait till the day opens upon us," said he to the Radja, "and expose our small numbers to the full view of the Marhatta cavalry, they will make cheap of us, and will fall upon us as upon a certain prey:—The best thing we can do is this: Do you take all our drums and music, and stay here with those Radj-p8ts that have kept pace with us, whilst our people shall be coming by detached troops; these you are to assemble in a compact body. Meanwhile, I am going to fall upon that cavalry fast asleep, and make no doubt but I shall do a great*

---

(119) Although a vast number of Musulmen, that serve in the Marhatta armies, make use of horses, no genuine Gentoo' Marhatta will serve, but upon a mare. They observe, that they are fitter for an ambuscade, because they never neigh at the sight or smell of each other, or of a horse; that they are quieter, and bear fatigue better; add to this that being in general followed by their foal, this last is early inured to long marches, fatiguing journeys, and scanty fare.

"deal of execution amongst them ; but these people will be up "by the dawn of the day, and will probably endeavour to hem me "in on all sides. In that case, I shall retreat towards you, "with all those pursuers at my back ; and your business will "be then to display all our standards, make as much noise as you "can with our music, and with your compact body to fall upon "those people whom their pursuit shall have put in disorder."

This said, he fell upon the Marhattas at about three o'clock in the morning, and killed an infinity of men, before they had time to awake and to recollect themselves ; nor was anything heard but the words, "take and kill." At day-break the smallness of his numbers becoming apparent, the Marhatta General, who had by this time assembled sixteen thousand horse, fell on all sides upon him, as well as upon the Radja who had not yet been joined by more than a thousand horse. Qhan-djehan, being hard pressed, retreated towards the Radja, with still the Marhattas at his back, when the Radja unfurling at once his standards, and playing his kettle-drums and trumpets, advanced to the attack. The moment that it was discovered by the Marhattas whose standards these were, they fell a crying that Qhan-djehan was come ; and without minding his numbers or making any further inquiry, they fled on all sides. At this very moment, he was joined by four thousand more of his horse, and nothing was heard now but the words, "kill and maim." I happened at that very time, says Hashem-aaly-ghân-ghafî, to be in that very district for the purpose of examining my father's appanage ; and finding I was surrounded on all sides by those free-booters, I gave up myself for lost. However, I made use of that very confusion, in which the Marhattas had fallen, to throw myself in the Imperial army, from whence I had opportunities to examine the whole engagement leisurely. In a few hours, I perceived ricks of Marhatta dead bodies on all sides ; and they were so panic-struck, that quitting their mares and their arms, they would creep into the cottages of the peasants, and ask for quarter with the greatest humility and submission. The others, who had been plundered of their all, would answer those supplications by breaking their heads with sticks and stone. So that all the booty which they had assembled in their camp, fell in the hands of the victors.

*Two or three days after the battle, the field being strewed with dead, scavengers were sent amongst them with orders to cut off all the heads ; and about fifty cart-loads of heads, spears, and bucklers were collected and sent to the Citadel of Aorenzabad. It is in this manner that the renowned General, without ever being at a loss for expedients, used to gain endless victories under Aorenzib's auspices.—Here ends the quotation from Hashem-aaly-qhan (120).*

It was such victorious Generals and such Lords, prodigal of their blood, that Aorenzib was continually disgusting by his suspicions and a cautiousness that had no end and no term. It is such men he was continually accusing in assemblies of purblind Cazies, and hood-winked ecclesiastics, who condemned such men to exiles, and to confiscations of djaghirs ; a fatal blindness, the consequence of which was, that after spending so many years of his life in those expeditions, and squandering away all the corors of the Empire, he found himself farther than-ever from bringing the Decan under proper controul ; so far from it, that he inured the Marhattas to wars and to laborious campaigns ; insomuch that a little after his death, they broke throughout all the provinces of the Empire like a torrent, made of all Hindostan an hippodrome for their courses, trampled all its cities under the hoofs of their horses, murdered an infinity of Mussulmen, children, men, and women, carried crowds of them into captivity, and defiled an infinity of reputable families ; in which performances they were imitated by the Syks, and some other powerful Gentoos, who then raised their heads. The consequence of those obstinate wars of his in Decan started up in vast numbers during his life-time in his victorious face, and doubtless will start up again in the Day of Judgment ; and this is what history says of his public life. As to his private character, it is by this time well-known : he became the tyrant

Terrible attack upon Aorenzib's character.

---

(120) Hashem-aaly-qhan, calls himself Ghafi, or the fearful and concealed : a title which he well deserves, if it be true that he wrote (at least so he says) with a deal of circumspection. He wrote in Aorenzib's camp, being a nobleman in high office at his Court, where he lived as his friend and one of his family. His book is scarce. We saw but one exemplary at Lucnow ; and if there be any in Calcutta, it must be in the Libraries of the English, now become the only literati of Bengal.

of his father, of his brother, of his children, and grand-children; and with regard to his blind attachment to Caries and men of the Church, the following quotation from Hashem-aaly-qhan-qhafi will shew what account he made of their opinions when they chanced to clash with his own, or to come home to himself:—

*The victorious Emperor having resolved to conquer the Kingdom of Bidja-p&r and Haider-abad, one day asked of the Supreme Judge, or the Supreme Bishop of his Court, what he thought of such an expedition, and how far in his opinion it was lawful to proceed upon it? The Cazi, having given an answer directly contrary to the Emperor's pleasure, saw such a sudden alteration in his features, that he thought proper to abscond from Court; a few days after, he made use of the interposition of friends, to obtain leave to go to Mecca, in which manner he lost his appointment and office.* The author means that the Judge, having incurred the Emperor's resentment by his unguarded decision, fled for his life, and thought himself very lucky to obtain leave to get out of his reach by exiling himself to Mecca. He that succeeded this Judge, was a man of as great a firmness of mind as his predecessor. It was the Cazy Abdollah, Supreme Judge and casuist of the Court. This Magistrate, afflicted to see so many Mussulmen massacred on both sides in the wars of Bidja-p&r and Haider-abad, took upon him to observe, "That the Kings of those countries were Mussulmen, as well as their soldiers; and that, the Imperial army consisting of Mussul-men, the continual massacre that took place on both sides was repugnant to the spirit of the law; and that, should His Majesty, in the wisdom of his enlightened mind and the benignity of his heart, cast a look of compassion on the afflicted state of Mussulmanism, and grant a peace to mankind, an infinity of poor ruined people would recommence to breathe, and might recover their losses." This insinuation was very ill received; a little more, and the Cazy would have been undone for ever. Some of the Princes of the blood, with many of the principal favourites, interposed their good offices to prevent the Judge's punishment, and the Judge's extreme liberty was forgiven him; but he was forbidden the Court, as well as the Imperial presence, and he remained disgraced for a long time.

Such was that glorious Emperor's character in public. But

so many blemishes and so many ugly actions are to be found in his private life likewise, that one would be apt to think that there is no wretch upon earth, but who with a little common sense would not have behaved with more caution. Most of those actions are recorded by Naamet-ghan-aaly, one of the Lords of his Court, in those elegant and sarcastical memoirs he has left us of what passed under his eyes. But as we have been speaking so often of the wars with the Kingdoms of Haiderabad and Bidja-p8r, it is but proper that we should recount some of the events relative to them, that the many examples, which our illustrious readers shall meet in them, may serve to put them upon their own guards.

The Emperor Aoreng-zib, whose ambition and covetousness knew no bounds, having formed the design of conquering the Kingdom of Bidja-p8r from the Monarch of the Adel-shahi. Dynasty(121), and that of Haider-abad from Soltan Ab8l-hassen, the last of the House of C8t8b-shah, he was looking out for some pretences to commence a war, but wished that the subject of discord might arise from those Princes themselves. He, therefore, commenced by writing a haughty letter to Soltan Ab8l-hassen, in which he reproached him for his keeping, as his Prime Minister, a Gentoo (the Brahmin Madina), and requested his dismissing that man from the Ministry, in order to remove thereby the scandal it gave to religious Mussulmans. The King of Haider-abad asked time to put that order in execution; but the Emperor hearing at that very time that this Prince was possessed of a diamond which, in bigness and beauty, surpassed every thing to be found in the treasuries of all the Princes of the earth,

Aoreng-zib  
attacks the  
King of Bidja-  
p8r, and  
Haider-abad.

(121) These Kings of Bidja-p8r, who all bore the title of Adel-shah and Adel-ghans from the founder of that Monarchy, are no others than those, so often mentioned in the histories of the Portuguese settlements in India, under the name of Idal-cans. In this same manner, we shall discover Soltan-bahadyr in the Soltan-bad8rs of G8djrat, and Nizam-el-mulk in the Mamalucoes and Nazamucoes of Bidja-p8r. But for our knowledge of this particularity of the Kings of Bidja-p8r, who all bore the same name or title, it might appear from the Portuguese histories, all written with the most slovenly carelessness, ignorance, and partiality, that a Prince of the name of Idal-can has been waging war with them in India for one hundred and eighty years together. This remark may serve as a clue to unravel that assertion of the ancient Persian history, where Key-mars, or Key-marass, their first King, is said to have lived a thousand years, &c.

he sent for Mirza-mohammed in his closet, a nobleman who had been born in his service, was one of his own breeding and training, and now enjoyed the office of Comptroller of the Hall of Audience. “*My motive for sending you,*” said the Emperor, “*to the Court of Haider-abad, is not solely for demanding a bit of stone, whether that Prince chooses to part with it or not;*” —*your business, take care, is to speak so boldly and with so much liberty to him, as to make him lose his temper, and exhale himself in some expressions that may afford me a handle against him.*” The Mirza, furnished with such instructions, repaired to the Court of Haider-abad, where he was received with entertainments and presents, and with every demonstration of honor and respect. In one of his visits he mentioned the famous diamond. The King, for all answer, sent for the keeper of his jewel-office, and having commanded him to bring all the gems and jewels in his custody, together with his diary and register, he swore upon the Word of God, that these were all the jewels he was master of, and that he had not others(122). He at the same time

Crafty instruction given by Aorenz-zib to his Ambassador.

(122) This diamond, however, came from Haider-abad, and was in the Emperor of Hindostan's treasury, where it bore the title of Coh-n&r, or mountain of beauties or of lights. It has the figure of an egg, placed upon its broader end a little flattened, and is the same which was seen in 1670, by Tavernier, who valued it at twelve millions, which at fifty livres the mark, makes twenty-four French millions of to-day (1780), or a million and-a-quarter sterling. Its weight is two hundred and eighty-four carats. The fellow of this diamond came also from Haider-abad, and was registered under the title of Deria-i-n&r, ocean of beauties or of lights, being a diamond cut table-ways, and weighing three hundred and two carats. These two diamonds were each of them Field-marshals or Generals of two armies of diamonds, each of them commanded by its Field-officers, &c.; for such is the expression in the records. Both these Generals were carried away prisoners by Nadyr-shah, from whose jewel-office General Coh-n&r was stolen long with a pillow, covered with Colonels, and other officers of rank; and this was done by Minass, an Armenian, who was one of that Prince's jewellers, as well as jewel-guards. The theft having been soon discovered, life was offered to the man, if he would restore the stone; but the Armenian, who suspected that a confession would only expose his family and thirteen children to ruin, without saving his life, and who knew that at all events it would enrich his family, pointed out to his children the place of his garden where he had buried it, and then courageously submitted to the supplice of fire. The eight sons went to Basrah after Nadyr-shah's death, and carried thither the pillow and the large diamond; there they made their shares in silence, and repaired to India, where they settled, from Basrah and Surat, up to Canton in China, eight very rich and powerful houses of trade. Kircor, the youngest, who alone had dared to take in his share the large stone, which the others

selected such gems as seemed to be of an uncommon bigness, colour, and water, and requested his presenting them on his part to his Imperial master; after which he gave him his audience of leave. The historian, Hashem-aaly-qhan-qhafi, who wrote expressly of Aorenz-zib's life and wars, speaks in the following manner of this affair :—“ *I have spoke several times to the Mirza, “ after his return from the Court of Haider-abad, when he said “ several times that, in compliance to his instructions, he had “ made it a point to speak to the King of Haider-abad with so “ much liberty and so much unbecoming freedom, as might “ put him out of his guard, and excite his anger; but that so “ far from his scheme taking effect, the King always took care “ to speak in terms of modesty and deference.*” “ *We are both “ Monarchs,*” said that Prince; “ *but yet I am willing to “ acknowledge your master for my superior, and to be as his “ dependant.*” The Mirza, laying hold of this expression, answered with warmth : “ *That it little became him to talk of “ himself as a Monarch, when mentioning Aorenz-zib the “ Conqueror's name.*” The King, without losing his temper, replied with a smile : “ *You mistake the case, friend Mirza-“ mohammed. If you won't allow me the title of King and “ Monarch, how shall you manage to call your victorious master, “ King of Kings and Emperor?*” ”

Curious answer of the King of Haiderabad.

To return to our narrative. The Emperor, being arrived at B8rhanp8r, which is the first frontier of Decan, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, detached forwards a young nobleman whom he wanted to train to war, and whose military grade he then advanced. This was Sheabeddin-qhan, son to Kyludj-qhan (123).

---

would not accept, being both unsaleable and dangerous, kept it full forty-two years, without ever uttering a word of it. In the middle of the Russian war, 1774, with the Turks, he carried it to Constantinople, without daring to do more than just to mention it; from thence he carried it to England, and lastly to Holland, from whence he sent a model of it to the Empress of Russia, Catherine the Second, who bought it for one-tenth of its value (a hundred thousand pounds sterling), and gave a pension of two hundred to the Armenian, on whom she also conferred nobility by a patent. The other diamond has never been heard of, and to all appearance is buried in some garden.

(123) This Kyludj-qhan, or Lord Sabre seems to be no other than Nizam-el-mulk himself, who was since surnamed Chin-kyludj-qhan, or the sabre-drawing Lord, and became one of the principal Generals of that reign.

He had orders to make himself master of some fortresses of the Marhatta country; and he gave him a good army and every necessary for a siege. His instructions were to follow the plan once traced by Shah-djehan, and to commence, like him, by taking the fortress of Ramehi, as the easiest of all. He at the same time instructed Nik-nam-qhan, Governor of the fortress of Malhar, and Fodjar of the Buglana, to advance towards the strong fortress of Salir, in which he was to gain admittance, if possible, without a siege, by opening a negotiation with the Governor and garrison. After these arrangements, he, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, quitted his Palace at Aoreng-abad, and advanced to Ahmed-nagur, where he encamped, and from whence he detached his son, Mohammed Ozm, to besiege that fortress, as well as to take possession of all the forts of the District of G8l-shen-abad, whilst Nik-nam-qhan should be employed in negotiation with the Governor of Salir. He, at the same time, dispatched his other son, S8ltân-Muâzzem, with orders to chastise the free-booter of Ram-derah, a valley contiguous to the C68can, and belonging to the House of Adel-shah. The Prince, being arrived before Salir, was going to open his batteries, and to attack the fortress; but Nik-nam-qhan, who had already opened a negotiation with the Governor, sent him word that, as his fortress would certainly fall before Aoreng-zib's victorious fortune, he had better spare him the trouble of a siege, as he would not fail in that case to represent his merits to the Emperor, who would make him ample amends for his loss. The Governor, sensible of the goodness of the advice, and persuaded that he could not stand a siege, made a merit of his submission, and surrendered his place; and in this manner the strong fortress of Salir came to hand without a formal siege. The keys were surrendered to Nik-nam-qhan, who carried them, together with the Governor, to the Imperial presence. The Emperor accepted the keys, and bestowed on the Governor the grade of five thousand horse, with the effectual command of three thousand.

The fortress  
of Salir sur-  
renders to the  
Imperialists.

Hashem-aaly-qhan writes, that the Emperor, having in the beginning of his reign examined the lists of the pensioners and of some other people who enjoyed benefits from the treasury, whether of old standing or of new creation, confirmed all those grants, and made it a point to raise the incumbents successively

to dignities and offices, and also to superior pensions, as they came to be vacant; they enjoyed Djaghirs, besides many free lands; so that their situation was of the happiest. But at the beginning of this campaign, and whilst the army lay encamped at Ahmed-nagur, things took another course; and he who had hitherto constantly abstained from admitting Afghans and Radjpots in his service, as well as Cashmirians, especially those of the tribe of Check(124), now adopted another system. Obliged now to pass his life in countries inhabited by infidels, he found it his interest to gain the hearts of the Marhattas, and the subjects of the Kings of Bidjah-pur and Haiderabad; and he that disliked the Patans, and could not bear the presence of a Hindou, now commenced to admit those of Decan in his service, and even to shew them some predilection; insomuch that even on any trifling service performed by them, they were sure of being raised to honours and dignities, much above their respective merits. On their turning Mussulmen, or barely taking service with him, or only siding with his forces, qhylaats, horses, elephants, jewels, as well as grades and dignities were lavished upon them, without reckoning surnames and titles of honour. These men, whether rewarded with Djaghirs in lands, or with Djaghirs in ready money, were so much caressed, that their rents and pensions never suffered more than three, or at most four months delay; and great connivances were shewn them in the collections of rents, until at last it was found that all the new conquests had been swallowed up in Djaghirs to the new comers. Moreover, as the Djaghirs of these were upon the spot, and most of them greatly under-rated, they had it in their power to bribe the penmen and heads of offices to much connivance, or to procure good protectors and friends; whereas the old servants, and even those bred in the Imperial household could hardly support themselves; and thus, whilst new men, whom no body knew or had so much as heard of, were living in affluence and prosperity, ancient dignitaries, and ancient servants of the Imperial family were so far neglected for want of

---

(124) All Cashmirians are reputed bad men in Hindostan, and there is a proverb that runs thus:—"Bengali Djendjali, Cashmiri bi piri," the meaning of which is that there is no disentangling one's self from the double dealing of a Bengali, but that a Cashmirian always acted like an Atheist.

protectors, as to be ejected from those Djaghirs and possessions of theirs, which were far off ; and this was the case with the greatest number, that is, with an infinity of persons ; whilst others were sure of never recovering the balances due to them. It was even remarked, that the Emperor, on being presented every sixth month with the list of the pensioners and Djaghir-holders, used often to write at the bottom of it that a pomegranate was indeed an excellent remedy, but that it would never suffice for a hundred men ; so that whenever he had to dispatch military officers, or to appoint to dignities and honours, he used to strike out a number of small Djaghirs in order to make up a large one, an expedient that ruined by the sword of the pen an infinity of people of middling stations, whom it turned out of their accustomed subsistence.—This is what Hashem-aaly-qhan-qhafi says. Let us now return to the thread of our narrative.

Sheab-eddin-qhan, who had been sent to take the inconsiderable town of Rameh, and who, with the army and artillery with which he had been furnished, and the character he bore for bravery and conduct, ought to have taken it by insult, found, on his arrival, matters very much altered from the account given him. The Governor Simbha was resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. This man, who had for all artillery only three guns out of order and very old, but chanced to be master of a great deal of timber, contrived a number of wooden ones, which he covered with leather, and which he planted everywhere upon the ramparts ; and these he never made use of but when an attack or an escalade was actually going on against his walls, at which time they fired once, and presently were unfit for further service, but they answered the purpose of keeping in awe an enemy that knew nothing of the secret. This Governor, by such a contrivance, and many others of the same kind, found means to protract the siege ; and to so much art and contrivance he joined so much firmness and so much bravery, that Sheab-eddin, with his army and artillery, could not prevail. The siege drew to a length. The Emperor informed of this, sent to his assistance Cassem-qhan, an able and prudent General, avide of glory, and desirous of being employed. The new General went very briskly to work, and gave several assaults ; but which were all repelled by the Governor, who seemed

Strange  
artillery con-  
trived at the  
siege of  
Rameh.

equally proof against open attacks and secret practices. At last the famous Qhan-djehan-cocaltash was sent thither; and repeated attacks were made, and assaults given, and all to no purpose. Qhan-djehan, repulsed everywhere, betook himself to the following expedient: He ordered a number of troops, supported by all the sutlers and followers of the army, to present themselves with great cries, as if with intention to give an assault, by which they would draw the attention of the garrison to themselves. He at the same time prepared a number of ladders, and a body of four hundred picked men, whom he encouraged by the promises of a high pay and several rewards. Their business was, as soon as the garrison should be taken up with the false attack, to advance silently to the foot of the wall, plant their ladders, and mount, unperceived, and before the garrison could think of them. Unfortunately the Governor, who had spies in camp and kept a sharp look-out, was informed of the whole scheme; and he counteracted it exactly in the same manner. He appointed a multitude of soldiers as well as useless people in opposing the false attack, but reserved a select body for the particular attack intended to take effect. These he ordered to squat themselves all along the parapet, and to hold themselves ready with certain iron hooks, made of five branches of that species called *Râih*, in Decan, and *Bagh-T8ia*, or Tiger's-paw, in Hindostan. Each of them, besides his spear and long sword, was furnished with one of these engines. They were directed to squat on the ground close to the parapet, and to observe so profound a silence, that the besiegers should not suspect there was a soul there. At the appointed time of the attack, two young men, who marched as the forlorn hope, advanced to the foot of the wall, planted their ladder, and got up, being followed by others upon the same ladder; the same activity was made use of at the other ladders. But as soon as a certain number had got nearly to the top of the wall, those of the garrison, that waited but for them, got up at once from their hiding places, and tearing up with one hand the turbants of those that had reached the wall, gave them with the other so many strokes of their engine as tore hideously their heads and faces, and overthrew them all down the wall, over head and heels. These, by their weight, brought down those that were

yet upon the ladders ; and the whole of them being now sprawling on the ground, presented a dreadful scene of mangled faces, and broken legs and arms. This stratagem of the besiegers having failed, another was set up ; and this was of the supernatural kind.

There was then in camp an impostor, who had acquired much renown throughout the army, by incantations and conjuring up spirits. This man, having found means to introduce himself to Qhan-djehan, had the daringness to propose to him a new and strange way of taking the fortress. He obtained that he should order him a snake of gold, of about one hundred tolas weight(125) ; and putting on a certain dress made of Bulgar-leather(126), stuffed with cotton, he got upon a lofty scaffold of wood, made on purpose for the occasion, and commanding the troops to mount to the assault, he commenced giving a variety of motions to his snake, and singing, and crying, and invoking his familiars. He had promised that at the end of his incantations, the fortress would be taken. Whilst he was agitating his body in such a frantic manner, a ball of stone, discharged from one of the wooden guns upon the wall, struck him in the stomach ; and the man, tumbling down with his snake and leather dress, broke his arm and leg, and thereby put an end to the attack. This expedient having failed in this manner, and the siege having been already protracted to so irksome a length, the Generals grew tired of it, and went away, having first changed their dress to prevent their being known ; they at the same time set fire to the scaffold they had raised close to the wall. On sight of this, the besieged cried out from the walls, “Stay until the whole is consumed, and then you shall rub the ashes of it over your(127) faces, and shall then retreat properly accoutred.” Simbadji, the Marhatta Prince, hearing of this vigorous defence, sent the Governor a Qhylaat of high value, and a pair of bracelets, of those called *Caras* in Hindostan ; they

Strange  
contrivance  
of the besieg-  
ers.

(125) More than three pounds weight, English.

(126) Russian Leather.

(127) This alludes to certain criminals in India, who have their faces besmeared with ashes. Some Fakirs, likewise, as having renounced the world, and as sinners, have their faces and bodies besmeared with ashes. Some, however, have their faces besmeared with lime, as well as their whole bodies.

were of gold, and weighing each half a seer(128). He at the same time drew him from that inconsiderable fortification, and gave him the command of one of the strongest fortresses in his dominions.

We find in authentic records and histories that the S8bah, *alias* Kingdom of Bidja-p8r, stretches to more than three or four months journey in length, and to full two hundred cosses in breadth. Its revenue, in the beginning of Sekender-adel-shah's reign, who was dispossessed by Aoreng-zib, was of two corores of h8ns (pagodas), that is, seven corores of rupees : an extent of dominion which was so far reduced and so ill administered by his Ministers, that when he lost his crown, his possessions did not extend beyond a revenue of seventy lacs of rupees a year. This event took place in the twenty-ninth year of Aoreng-zib's reign, answering to the year one thousand and ninety-six, of the Hedjira. Azem-shah, one of the Emperor's sons, was appointed to the command of that expedition, and he received from his father a number of Generals renowned for valour and conduct. Roh-ollah-qhan was a principal of them, at the head of twenty thousand horse. To him was joined Séyd-abdollah, an ancient servant of S8ltan Muázzem's ; he commanded a large train of artillery, with a body of two thousand horse. It was at that very time the Emperor had already dispatched Qhan-djehan at the head of a large army and a great train of artillery, with orders to invade the territory of Haiderabad, to which he had already given the name of the "Theatre of Sacred War." Séyd-abdollah, after some skirmishes, arrived before Bag-tana, which he was preparing to besiege, in expectation of being soon joined by S8ltan Azem. But as there subsisted a great disunion and misintelligence between the two brothers, S8ltan Muázzem and Azem-shah, the latter wished that no mention should be made during the siege of any officer

(128) A pound weight, English. But this is one-half of the metal used for the Bracelets, become ordinary these twenty or thirty years in Delhi and other parts of Hindostan ; those of the legs are twice as big. Those countries being endlessly involved in civil wars, and perpetually plundered, it has been judged expedient to accustom women to run away, and to make long journeys with a great deal of property about themselves. Heretofore, half a pound weight disabled a girl from walking.

belonging to his elder brother; and as he knew Séyd-abdollah to be a man of an heroic valour and a determined soldier, he sent him word underhand, that he might have him for his friend, if he would but attach himself to his person, or, at least, forbear to call his trenches by the name of S8ltan Muázzem's. But as that officer had consented to be of the expedition, on the encouragement given him by Roh-ollah-qhan, his ancient friend, the same proposals were sent to this General likewise. It happened that all this insidious negotiation produced no effect. Séyd-abdollah rejected the proposal with indignation; and Azem-shah, shocked at the refusal, sent word to the besieged, that they might with safety fall upon Seyd-abdollah's trenches, as they might depend upon his not being supported, or at least upon his receiving only such an assistance as would be effectually defeated by a variety of contrived delays. When the message arrived from the Prince, it happened that Séyd-abdollah was actually leading an attack against the walls. His artillery made a fire superior to any thing throughout the whole army, and he was himself the foremost amongst his troops; but he was repulsed, and besides many other soldiers, he lost two hundred and fifty men, mostly of Barr, all his countrymen, and all men of distinguished characters and bravery, and all personally known to S8ltan Muázzem; he lost also two war elephants. Seyd-abdollah was descried from afar rallying his disordered troops, and leading them again to the charge; and his undaunted countenance struck so much terror amongst the besieged, that they were going to cry for quarter. It was at this moment that Azem-shah sent Roh-ollah-qhan, in appearance to support that brave man, but in reality, to manage so as to bring some disgrace upon him, and upon the other friends of S8ltan Muázzem's. Roh-ollah-qhan, obliged to submit to the times, and to humour the Imperial Prince, advanced to Séyd-abdollah, and advised him to forbear so infructuous an attack; and this officer, on observing how the wind blew and how coldly he was supported, recalled his men, and returned much dispirited to his quarters. On the commencement of the attack, intelligence had come to Court, that Séyd-abdollah had behaved greatly to his honor; and the Emperor felicitated S8ltan Muázzem on the event; but the next day's intelligence having ascertained that he had been

Aoreng-zib  
repairs in  
person to the  
siege of Bidja-  
p8r.

repulsed with loss, he seemed incensed against both that officer and the Prince. Upon some further intelligence, he got information of the true state of affairs, and recalled to Court both Sëyd-abdollah and Roh-ollah-qhan. The former was reprimanded; and had not Roh-ollah-qhan interposed and obtained the Imperial pardon, for a miscarriage of which that officer was not guilty, he would have been disgraced with shame and infamy. This singular proceeding is reported by Hashem-aaly-qhan-qhafi, as an instance of Imperial policy, and of knowledge of the world in Aoreng-zib.

Meanwhile Azem-shah was so straightened in his quarters by the Bidjap8rians, that he had infallibly been undone, had not Sheab-eddin-qhan, with his brother, Mudjahed-qhan, hastened to his assistance, with all the provisions and sutlers they had assembled, by beating both the Marhattas and the troops of Sekender-shah's. The above historian says that all the Prince's cavalry was starving, so that the very men of his household suffered hardships unavoidable, and perished with famine; numbers of them had subsisted on bones of dead animals pounded together with tamarind leaves(129), a food, which, wretched as it was, had now failed totally. Vast numbers perished from such unwholesome food, as well as from mere famine; the courage of the men was damped; but what is singular, that of the women proved unshaken. Djani-begum, Dara-shecoh's daughter, and now consort to Azem-shah, who lived in camp, but was kept at some distance from it, having had her quarters attacked by a party of the enemy, she quitted her covered chair, and getting upon a war-elephant, she pushed forwards on the enemy; she had thrown away her veil, was shooting arrows incessantly, and encouraging both officers and men to do their duty, and to exert themselves manfully; and she was repulsing the enemy vigorously, when assistance came from the main army.

As to the convoy brought to camp by the two brothers, Sheab-eddin and Mudjahed-qhan, it was attacked in its way by forces twice superior to theirs; and here the two brave brothers,

---

(129) They eat in India the youngest leaves of the Tamarind, or rather Tamarind, in Arabic, (Indian fruit), a very large tree whose juices are sweet, but whose fruit and leaves are extremely acid.

concluding that the Imperial army would be undone unless it was immediately assisted with provisions, resolved to perish on the spot, or to carry their point. They both joined together in pronouncing over themselves the office of the dead; their principal officers did the same, and, mounting again like men that had taken leave of this world, they rushed upon those numerous troops, and did so much havoc amongst them, that they forced them to retire in disorder, leaving full liberty to the convoy to repair safely and without further loss to Azem-shah's famished camp. The Prince, on Sheab-eddin's making his bow, took him up, caught him tenderly in his arms, dressed that officer in the very dress which he himself then wore, and loaded him with honors and favors. The Emperor himself, hearing of this signal delivery of his son and army, exclaimed aloud, "*May God Almighty preserve for ever Sheab-eddin, with his family and descendants, in the same manner as that brave officer has preserved the honor of the Djagátai-family and throne!*"<sup>(130)</sup> He at the same time augmented his grade by a thousand effective horse, changed his name, gave him the title of the Victorious Champion of the Law, Ever Successful<sup>(131)</sup>, sent him a very obliging letter with many rich presents, and decorated in the same manner that officer's brother and his principal officers. But as, meanwhile, the siege of Bidja-p8r seemed to draw to a length, the Emperor himself, on the twenty-ninth year of his reign, turned his victorious standards towards that capital. Being arrived in its neighbourhood, he detached S8ltan Muázzem to the assistance of his younger brother, Azem-shah, and got that Prince accompanied by the flower of his army, commanded by officers of great renown and approved abilities; such as Roh-ollah-qhan, and Sheab-eddin-qhan (now styled Ghazy-eddin-qhan), and some others; and every one of those heroical men set out with a firm intention to exhibit such feats of valour and ability as might do honour to the Emperor's choice. But S8ltan Muázzem, who preferred policy and prudence to open force and bloodshed, commenced, from his post at Shah-p8ry gate, a negotiation with the garrison, offerring them full safety

<sup>(130)</sup> Djenghis-qhan was of the Djagatái tribe; and Timur, the founder of the Hindostani Empire, drew his origin from him.

<sup>(131)</sup> Ghazi-eddin-firoz-djung.

for their honour, property, and lives, if they would quietly surrender the place. The younger brother, informed of an affair that would have redounded intirely to his elder's honour, wrote to the Emperor, "*That he was treating with the enemy on his own account, and seemed to roll great projects in his head;*" and in this malicious insinuation he was joined by some Commanders averse to the S8ltan Muázzem. Roh-ollah-qhan himself, who was attached to Azem-shah, gave his evidence against the unfortunate Prince. The officers of the police in the army joined in those depositions; and Shah-c8ly, a favourite servant of S8ltan Muázzem's, who used often to resort to Sekender-shah within the city of Bidja-p8r, was seized as he was coming back to camp, and arrested, and then sent to the Emperor. That Prince at first spoke to him mildly, and exhorted him to give a full information of whatever he knew, as the safety of the State was interested in it; the other denied that there was any criminality in his case. Orders being given to torment him, he was scourged, and in the middle of that torment, he promised to disclose every thing he knew; and he, accordingly, accused not only the Prince, but also numbers of other persons, who, he said, were equally privy to his designs. Some of these were M8min-qhan, the second astrologer, Mahmed-sadyc-qhan, Bendrabun, Divan to the Prince, and Sëyd-abdollah of Barr. The Emperor, on this deposition, sent for S8ltan Muazzem to Court, and complained much of the ungenerosness and folly of his conduct. The Prince was confounded and speechless; he then denied Shah-c8ly to be in his service; but the assertion answered no purpose. And Sëyd-abdollah, after all the heroical feats of valor and conduct he had exhibited heretofore at Haiderabad, and of late at Bidja-p8r, was disgraced and confined, with many others. S8ltan Muázzem was neither disgraced, nor had any of his offices or revenues taken from him; but he was neglected, and fell into contempt. Roh-ollah-qhan, who had heretofore interceded for Sëyd-abdollah, was ordered to keep that officer in his custody.

Meanwhile the siege had been protracted to the beginning of the year thirty of the Emperor's reign, which answers to the year one thousand and ninety-seven of the Hedjrah; and the inhabitants and garrison of that great capitals being deprived

so long of all necessities, an infinity of men and animals perished with famine; forage and provisions were sold for their weight in gold. In this extremity Sherzeh-qhan, a principal Commander in Sekender-shah's service, asked for a parley, and was admitted to a composition for his master. That General brought the keys of the city to the Emperor, who ordered Sekender-shah into confinement. It was in this manner that a fortress that had stood like that wall of Ascander-makedon's (132), at last submitted, and the chronogram of the date was comprised within the above words. The Emperor, on receiving notice of this important surrender, gave orders by a note in his own hand to the analyst, Sheh-hedaet-kish, to insert it in his annals in these words: "*This fortress came to my possession by the repeated efforts of that worthy son of mine, the sincere, the faithful Ghazi-eddin-qhan, the Ever Successful in War.*" And it is observable that this conquest was announced in those very words in the Imperial letter written to Emir-qhan, the famous Governor of Cab8l, with whom the Emperor was pleased to keep a correspondence.

Bidjap<sup>8r</sup>,  
reduced by  
an horrible  
famine, sur-  
renders.

The Monarch, after the conquest of Bidja-p8r, resolved to finish the campaign by taking the city of Haider-abad, in the territory of which he had already, long ago, and so early as the beginning of the expedition against Bidja-p8r, sent a number of troops with orders to ravage and ruin the open country; but his suspicious temper had made him change these troops several times, together with their Commanders, as we shall soon have occasion to mention. This was the state of things at that period in that neighbourhood. But Bidja-p8r being now conquered, and his mind made easy on that head, he bent all the strength of his genius and all the power of the Empire on the conquest of Haider-abad, to the territory of which he now gave the surname or title of *Dar-el-djihad*, or theatre of the sacred war. It is this theatre of a sacred war which the religious Emperor, that champion of religion and law, was going to besiege with an army of half Mussulmans, and half Infidels and Pagans.

(132) Ascander-makedon, or Alexander the Macedonian ordered a wall to be raised in order to shut up against the Turks (for the word *Scythe* is of Greek extraction and is not known in the East) the passage of two leagues, which is betwixt the Caspian Sea and the mountain Caz (Coh-caz, words which have been *græcanised* into Caucazus), and this passage closed up, is so called to this day, *Der-bend*.

But before we enter on our narrative, it is proper that we should mention in few words what were the circumstances of that city and country, a little before the Emperor's arrival. That Prince, on sending Azem-shah towards Bidja-p8r, had dispatched the valorous Qhan-djehan towards Háider-abad, with orders to make himself master of some towns and fortresses that might straighten that capital, and render subsistence difficult. That General was accompanied by several officers of character; such as his own nephews, Sefder-qhan, Iredj-qhan, and Fidái-qhan; amongst which were likewise some Gen too Commanders, the principal of whom was Mohcum-sing. On hearing all these preparations, S8ltan-ab8l-hássen, King of Háider-abad, ordered his Generalissimo, Hibrahim-qhan, to march against the enemy

Siege of  
Haider-abad.

Several  
bloody battles  
about that  
Fortress.

meanwhile, being arrived at Mulker, was joined by Perviz-qhan and Djan-nessar-qhan, two Generals who were already on the spot, where they had come several times to an engagement with the enemy. Hardly was the junction effected, when he found Hibrahim-qhan, the Háider-abadian General, at the head of thirty thousand horse before him. A warm engagement ensued, which was followed by daily skirmishes, and always with a deal of blood-shed. But as the Haider-abadian General received several reinforcements from his rear, his army came to be of fifty thousand strong. With these he surrounded Qhan-djehan's troops, penned them up in a camp, and repeated so often his attacks, that the Imperial army was nearly undone, had not its General ordered a fossé and an intrenchment to be drawn round it. But still he was blockaded; and for a month together nothing was to be seen but daily skirmishes, with now and then a bloody engagement. At the end of that month the enemies seemed to have made a pause, when, on the third day, at a time when the Imperial army was off its guard, and its General was playing at dice, they appeared at once, as if with intention to make a general attack. Qhan-djehan had just time to mount, and to send his two sons, with his nephew, Iredj-qhan, against the enemy. To these he added the Hindoo Djat-sing, with a general order to march by the right; to the left, he sent all the Afghan and Radjp8t Commanders, with the troops of their own nation. He had hardly time to make these

dispositions and to mount, when, the Haider-abadians, having crossed the ditch and got over the intrenchment, forced the barricade of chained cannon that lined it, and fell upon the Imperial army, killing and wounding every thing in their way. Sheh-minhadj, one of their bravest Generals, attacked Sipahdar-qhan and Himmet-qhan, two sons of the Imperial General's, who were both supported by Djagat-hara, by Sherzeh-qhan-lö8dy, and by Rostem-qhan; at the same time the Generalissimo enemy, supported by Beri-hat-qhan, rushed upon Qhan-djehan, and filled that whole wing with slaughter and confusion; whilst another body was attacking the Radjp8ts and throwing them into the utmost disorder. In this confusion Sheh-nizam, another Háider-abadian General, found means to rush upon the rear, and to overthrow every thing in his way. The Imperial army, commanded by valorous Commanders, stood its ground everywhere, but everywhere with a great loss. Himmet-qhan, Sefder-qhan, and the Bondela-djesvent were wounded in several places. Himmet-qhan's Amhari(133), in particular, had its boards so stuck with arrows, that it looked like a table studded with an infinity of pins set upright. That Commander, although wounded and in an Amhari, aimed at from everywhere, kept firmly upon his ground, but he sent to his father for assistance; and the father, who stood his own ground with great difficulty, answered the request by recommending him to God Almighty's protection. At this moment Beri-hat-qhan, a Commander of renown amongst the enemy, having assembled a number of select horsemen of various denominations, fell upon Qhan-djehan, and pushing forwards, he shot an arrow at that General. The latter having caught the arrow with his hand, put it to his bow, and shot it with so much justness at his enemy, that it disabled his hand. Nevertheless, victory was inclining to the side of the Háider-abadians; and matters were so desperate, that it became doubtful whether a single man of the Imperial army would be saved. Matters being so critically circumstanced, assistance came from an unexpected quarter. There were at a distance some elephants in rut, which had been made fast to some trees with ropes and chains, to keep them under some controul. The drivers, thinking that the blind fury of

The Imperialists nearly defeated, receive an unexpected assistance from some elephants in rut.

(133) A throne upon an elephant, capable of containing two or three men.

those animals might be turned to some account, let them loose, after having put upon their tusks an iron chain of about three hundred pounds weight. No sooner were these animals let loose, than one of them having singled out that terrible Beri-hat-qhan himself, advanced straight to him. The Afghan, who was a stout vigorous man, trusted to his own strength so far as to rush upon the elephant, with his spear couched ; but the animal, which had in its way to him killed, wounded, and dismembered a number of horses and men, keeping its eyes fixed on Beri-hat-qhan, gave him such a blow as killed him on the spot. The animal, after this achievement, continued to advance, dealing deadly blows around, and trampling under foot whosoever stood in its way. This strange combat between armed men and elephants in rut having afforded Qhan-djehan's troops time to take breath, they advanced upon the dismayed Háider-abadians, who now fell into confusion and retreated on all sides, unable to stand the fury of the elephants. The opportunity was ably seized. They were charged on all sides, and obliged to fly in great disorder ; and victory remained to the Imperialists at last. The General, in his letters to the Emperor, ascribed this victory to a particular interposition of Providence, and demanded succours and a strong reinforcement. The Emperor sent to his assistance his eldest son, S8ltan Muázzem, with a strong body of veterans, and a number of Commanders inured to wars and dangers. These were Yticad-qhan, son to Assed-qhan the Djumlet-el-mulk(134), Merhamet-qhan, son to Namdar-qhan, and some others. The junction being made, Qhan-djehan proposed to attack the enemy, and at day-break he quitted his intrenchment. But he had hardly advanced three cosses, when he was met by the Háider-abadians, who, advancing fiercely to the charge, singled out that part where the General was himself, with the Imperial Prince Muëz-eddin, and on the first outset, killed some elephants and some hundreds of men both cavalry and infantry; advancing beyond the Imperial artillery, they spread terror and confusion throughout the whole army. Sëyd-abdollah, of Barr, who had been released from his confinement, sensible of the consequences of such a

(134) The Greatest of the State, is the translation of those three words. This Assed-qhan was the Vezir of the Empire.

disorder, advanced at the head of a body of troops with Radja Man-sing; and both exerted themselves so bravely, that they brought the enemy to a stand. The engagement ended and recommenced for three days together, costing the lives of an infinity of brave men on both sides. Victory at last declared for the Imperialists. The enemy was discouraged; and his troops fled and took shelter within their camp. Thither they were pursued by Sëyd-abdollah and some of the most ardent Imperialists, who declared that now was the day to put an end to the war. The General objected; but it was nine o'clock at night, when he returned to his camp; from thence he wrote the next morning an account of the whole affair to the Emperor, in hopes to have merited, as well as the Prince, the Imperial applause, which, in fact, he so richly deserved; when to his surprise there came a letter to camp, which instead of the merited encomiums, contained the most severe reproaches both against the General and the Prince, for having put an end to the pursuit and returned to camp. This letter confounded them, and filled their hearts with grief. They became dispirited and negligent; and although the Haider-abadians, instead of coming henceforward to a regular engagement, contented themselves with some skirmishes by day, and some firing by night, nevertheless, both the Prince and the General, exasperated at the Emperor's ingratitude, refused for four months together to fight them any more, contenting themselves with repelling their attacks. This neglect affected the Emperor so deeply, that he sent to camp a letter in his own hand, full of the bitterest complaints. To the General, in particular, he addressed this verse of his own :

Thou Morning Zephyr! all this is of thy own bringing.

On this afflicting letter, the Prince assembled his best Generals, read the contents in their presence, complained much of the usage he received, and asked their advice about what was to be done next. The General, with most of the Council, being extremely incensed and dispirited, voted against a battle; but Sëyd-abdollah, with two or three Radjp8t Radjas, proposed to attack the enemy. Both parties persisting in their opinions, the Council broke up without coming to a determination. After their departure, Sëyd-abdollah observed to the Prince privately,

that the General being an old friend and acquaintance of the Emperor's, might possibly take the liberty of giving way to his resentment; but that it was neither safe nor decent in him to resist any more the Imperial commands. He added, that as the enemies seemed inclined to a peace, conscious of their weakness, now was the time to fall upon them, and give them a total defeat. If, said he, the General takes the van under his command, I offer to lead the main, and if he chooses to command the main, I offer my services to lead the van; otherwise, let any of the two Imperial Princes take the command of that van, and I offer to lead under him, and to deserve his good opinion. S8ltan Muázzem did not declare his opinion; but he sent word to the Haider-abadian General, "That the "Imperialists having fallen under the Emperor's displeasure for "their long inactivity, they were now resolved to afford satis- "faction to that Monarch, by giving a total defeat to the enemy, "unless they chose to prevent it by timely suing for peace; "the more so, as such a party would prove equally advantageous "to both sides, and seemed to be the only one that could "procure the Imperial forgiveness on Ab8l-hassen's misde- "meanors(135), and on them all. That should they make a "cession of the Fortress of Bëyrem, and of all the districts "on the frontiers, already conquered by the Imperial arms, "he would endeavour to represent this cession to the Emperor "in such a manner, as would not only procure a forgiveness "to Ab8l-hassen, but also render him an object of favor in "the Imperial mind." The Háider-abadian General was himself inclined to a peace; but on his making the proposal in a council of war, in which assisted several Generals, and especially Sheh-minhadj, and the Brahmin Rostem-rão, with some others who breathed nothing but war and battle, they all unanimously answered, *that the Fortress of Bëyrem, as well as the districts in question, hung at the point of their spears, or stuck at the edge of their sabres; and that whoever had a mind to them must conquer them sword in hand, and not with messages.*" This was all the answer that was returned by the enemy;

---

(135) The person whom the Imperial Prince chooses to style only Ab8l-hassen, is no less than S8ltan Ab8l-hassen, King of Haider-abad. But this slight expression was become of etiquette.

and these men, after having been for sometime very slack and remiss, now became so active, that they were incessantly firing musketry and rockets against the Imperial camp, which they approached so near, that a rocket fell within the women's apartment in the Prince's quarters, as he was going to sit down to his dinner; and it overset a qhōan, or table, carried upon her head by one of the female attendants. Not content with that, they were firing incessantly with the new artillery they had received from Haïder-abad, and threatening the Imperialists both with the voice and with the hand. The Prince, shocked to see himself eternally braved, resolved to fight; and he came out of his intrenchment with that intention. The order of battle was the same as before. The command of the van, or Aräol, was given to the Prince Muëzz-eddin and to Qhan-djehan; the Chendäol, or main battle, was given to Söyd-abdollah; and the other Generals were placed as they came in the Djeran-ghaz and Beran-ghaz, or right and left wings(136). S8ltan Muëzz-eddin himself took his post in the Col, which followed the main body. He had with him Qhoadja-abol-mucarem, and some other officers of distinction, and he seemed resolved to come to a decisive engagement, be it ever so bloody. The Haider-abadian Generals on their side made their arrangements according to the motions of the enemy. They concealed or buried great part of their heavy canon; and dividing their army in three bodies, they opposed one to the enemy's van, another to his wings, and a third, the most numerous of all, which was commanded by their most determined Generals, to Söyd-abdollah and his troops. In this order they were advancing like a mighty inundation, swelled into waves by a rising wind. The cries of *kill* and *maim* in a little time filled the air, and every one seemed intent on nothing but killing and wounding. No such bloody battle had been fought all along this war; but the Haider-abadians seemed to have the superiority. The Prince Muëzz-eddin, supported by Himmet-qhan, son to the General, and by Assed-qhan and

(136) It is observable that although the text is Persian, nevertheless all these military words are, in the Turkish, the original language of Timur, or Tamur-lang, since whose time they have remained in the Court of Hindostan with some others; for instance, the word *Atlan* (be mounted), which is carried round to the horse-guards, when the Emperor is going to mount his elephant.

some others, was making the greatest efforts. At last Séydbabdollah, after repeated attacks, was observed to gain ground on the enemy, and this engaged both wings to advance. But yet the battle that had commenced at day-break, seemed to be undetermined so late as at twelve o'clock. It was only after that time that the Háider-abadians were observed to be in confusion, and at last to quit their ranks and to fly on all parts. The Prince Muézz-eddin, availing himself of the opportunity, followed close after them, and was going to enter their camp, when he received a message from Sheh-minhadj, one of the most valorous Commanders of the enemy, in these words :—*We do not see in the history of former times, that noble Princes and generous Generals have waged war with the women and families of their enemies, or that they ever attempted to dis-honour them by any defilement. Respect is due to women. Let strife and slaughter be amongst men only. Stand off a little until we have secured our wives and honor, and let the rest in camp be yours.* The Prince admitted the plea, and repressed the ardour of his troops for full two hours; in which interval the Háider-abadians found time to load their wives and families upon whatever they could meet,—carts, camels, elephants, or horses,—and to carry them out of the reach of danger. In the afternoon, the truce being expired, they appeared again in several compact bodies, and gave a battle still more bloody than the last. But it must be acknowledged, that they were vigorously received; both sides exhibited proofs of a determined courage, and an infinity of brave men perished on both sides. S8ltan Muázzem, in particular, had two elephants killed under him. In the enemy's army, Sheh-minhadj, a valorous Commander, was severely wounded, together with Rostem-rão the Brahman, and some others of their most adventurous officers. Nevertheless, they found means to wound Bendrabun, the Prince's Divan and Prime Minister, and to carry him away upon his elephant. But Séydbabdollah, thinking that the capture of the Prince's Minister would cast a stain upon the character of those that fought with him, ran after them with some Radjp8t Princes, and rescued the man, and brought him back. Whilst he was performing this service, the consort of Gháiret-qhan, the Paymaster-General, was struck by a musket-ball upon her elephant, and fell senseless

together with a waiting-maid; but the number of common soldiers, or of people of no consequence, slain in this furious action, is incredible. Both armies sustained a mighty loss. However, the Háider-abadians, having stood their ground so late as the evening, now disbanded, as soon as it grew dark, and they fled every one of them to Háider-abad, but not, however, without dispatching in the evening a message to Prince Muazzem, proposing, *That, instead of sending every day to the Kingdoms of Nothingness such vast multitudes of Mussulmen, a number of Generals from both sides should advance between the two armies, and fight together for superiority; and that whichever party should have the advantage, it should be final for both armies.* This proposal was rejected, the Prince being sensible that the Háider-abadians being from their youth trained to the management of the pike and spear, would infallibly have the advantage. In the morning intelligence coming that the Háider-abadians had disappeared from the field, the Prince ordered the music to strike up, in token of victory; and giving up all thoughts of pursuing the enemy, he marched straight to Haider-abad.

As the Prince was approaching, Madina the Brahman, Prime Minister and confidant of the King of Haider-abad, found means to render suspect the conduct of his General, Qhalil-oliah-qhan, alias Hibrahim-qhan, as if he were of intelligence with the enemy, and the King became so convinced of it, as to conceive the design of arresting and putting him to death; but the General informed of that resolution, went over to the Prince, and was received with kindness and distinction. His master hearing of this desertion, concluded himself lost, and his affairs desperate; and without giving notice of his resolution to any one of his Ministers or friends, without affording himself time to carry away his consort and family, he fled to the Fortress of Golconda, which is at a few miles from Haider-abad, carrying with him some chests full of gold and jewels. It was at about one o'clock in the morning. The unfortunate inhabitants of Haider-abad being thus forsaken, gave themselves up to despair. The Prince arrived at this moment with his army; and such a scene ensued on that ill-fated city, as seemed to have anticipated for it all the horrors of the Day of Judgment. Some thousands of people

The Haider-abadian Generals propose a combat between twenty of theirs and twenty of the Imperial officers.

of the better sort, having no time to provide carriages, or any other conveniences, took their wives and children by the hand, and without minding their being without a veil, and without a mask, they brought them out to public view, and carried them to the foot of the fortress, leaving the whole of their property behind, without so much as taking the value of a straw from it. The King had already done so himself. His Palace, ready furnished, his wardrobe, his elephants, horses, jewels—all were left behind. The analysts write that a vast wealth to the amount of five or six corors, was plundered and made away with, by the robbers and thieves that abounded both in the city and camp, and this too sometime before the army could come up. Rich merchants and wealthy bankers, who lived these many generations in that city, without having ever seen so much as a tumult, were stripped of their all, and reduced to beggary in a few moments. For those that were jealous of their honor, abandoned both houses and property, and were only busy all night in carrying their consorts and families to the castle. At day-break the army arrived, and a general plunder took place; and as it was a very rich city, and every market and every street was full of goods, merchandise, money, and precious things, the plunder was immense, and that unfortunate city seemed to undergo by anticipation its condemnation at the Day of Judgment. The number of defilements committed that day, as well as the multitudes of nobles and plebeians, whether Mussulmen or Gentoos, that lost their consorts and children, are matters known only to Him for Whom nothing is hidden, and such as no pen can describe. Preserve us, O merciful God! as well as all your adorers, from such days as these! The plunder and sack was going on yet, when envoys came from S8ltan-ab8l-hassen, supplicating forgiveness for the misdemeanours which their master could not have committed. But the Prince was already exerting himself for putting an end to the pillage. Touched with the cries of the unfortunate, he had mounted, and was actually driving away the plunderers, and endeavouring to appease the tumult. In fact, it subsided a little; but the city was already undone by this time, and the people ruined, remained ruined. Nor is the merit of this ruin to be attributed to any but to Aoreng-zib himself, who by this time has doubtless been called to an

account for such a general devastation. The Prince, on the intrigues of the King's envoys, restored to him his dominions, under the promise of his paying a present of one hundred and twenty lacs, over and above the usual annual revenue. He also directed that Madina the Brahman, together with his brother, Inganna, who were the causes, if not the authors and machinators of all these troubles, should be turned out of their offices, never to be re-admitted, and that the Fortress of Béyram should be added to the Empire, with all the districts already conquered. On these conditions the Prince became an intercessor for the King of Háider-abad. But this forlorn Monarch, although inclined to set aside Madina, could not however part with him in such a time of trouble and confusion. Some of the principal men of his Court, however, shocked that he should still adhere to those two Brahmans, to whom they ascribed all the misfortunes of their country, made application to Mah-djani, the principal consort, who bore an absolute sway in the harem, or seraglio, as well as on Ab8l-hassen's mind; and having obtained her consent, they put both the Brahmans to death, without giving the-least notice of it to the King, their master, and then sent their heads to Soltan Muázzem. The latter, seeing that the principal of the Emperor's commands had been complied with by this execution, and all the conditions of the treaty fulfilled, sent the two heads to his father. That covetous man, on seeing the heads, dispatched Saadet-qhan, a nobleman of his own breeding, and who had been Divan to Qhan-djehan, with orders to receive the money stipulated, together with some arrears that were due. But, meanwhile, he expressed his resentment against that General, as well as against the Prince, but especially against the former, for the lenity shewn to the city of Háiderabad and its King. He wrote to him a severe letter, and recalled him to Court; nor did his former and late services save him from the Emperor's resentment. And as there were in the army several young Lords, like Yticad-qhan, Assed-qhan, and some others, who exerted themselves in every occasion, whether in a day of battle, or in executing any Imperial order, and were on that account so many objects of favor, he made it a point, in every letter to the old General, to extol their conduct and merits at his expense. In one of those letters he wrote with his own

The two  
Brahmans  
put to death.

hand, *That whilst youths, whose mouths still smelt of milk, had approved themselves on every occasion zealous, and of the utmost alertness, he, who had grown old in his service, had shewn himself neglectful and indifferent.* These reproaches incensed the General, and the comparison irritated his discontent. Shocked at such a want of gratitude, he resolved to quit the camp, and to leave it to those young men to range armies in battle, and to dispose the operations of a campaign; and from that moment he gave himself up to a life of sloth and inattention.

Just at this time, some ungrateful and traitorous Lords of Ab8l-hassen's Court, who had been gained by Aoreng-zib's promises, or were prompted by their own perverseness, came in a body to the Emperor, and proposed to him to take possession of Háider-abad. The Emperor granted them a body of troops, and sent them to S8ltan Muäzzem. But whilst war and peace seemed both at a stand and confounded together, Abdol-rezac-qhan of Lar, one of the Commanders that stuck yet to the King of Háider-abad, and had of late been appointed to watch the motions of the Imperialists, coming to hear of the approach of that succour, fell upon it, and killed or took prisoners two or three of the Imperial Generals, committing also some slaughter amongst the troops that composed that re-inforcement, which not being apprised of its danger, and at too great a distance from the Imperial army to receive any support, was easily over-powered. For the Prince, finding that provisions grew scarce in the neighbourhood of that capital, and that nothing was yet determined as to war or peace, had thought proper to retire at a distance; so that he was now encamped at Ghur, and the army thus at a distance, had been of late weakened by the disgrace of those two heroical men, Qhan-djehan and Sëyd-abdollah, whose numberless important services could not save them from a total dismission, after they had been, as well as the Imperial Prince, severely reprimanded for the lenity shewn to the King and city of Háider-abad. God preserve us, with all the faithful, from such ungrateful masters!

The siege of Háider-abad, meanwhile, drawing to a length, and both the Prince and Qhan-djehan being deemed guilty, Abed-qhan, son to the victorious Ghazy-eddin-qhan, was sent both to command the army and to exact from the Prince the

Pishcush, or the present, he had stipulated with the Háider-abadian King ; in a little after both the Prince and Qhan-djehan were re-called—the first to live with the Emperor his father ; the second to render an account of his conduct. His ill luck was such, that the very day he chanced to arrive at Court, a quarrel arose between his people and those of Muázzem-qhan, father-in-law to the young Prince Cam-baqsh ; it was in setting down both their palekies in the yard of the Imperial quarters. A great tumult ensued ; and the noise reaching the Emperor's ears, he sent Qhan-djehan out, with the slave-boys of the Palace, to appease the tumult, and to drive away Muázzem-qhan's people. The General, who was already afflicted at the reception he had met with from the Emperor, and who made no account of Muázzem-qhan's bravery, or military talents, no more than of his services or birth, when compared to his own, had no sooner seen to what a height the tumult had already risen, and what disorders it had caused, than he ordered the market-street and the sutlers of this Lord to be plundered and stripped ; and this order, having been literally executed, shocked the Emperor extremely. The Monarch, to punish the General, sent him to an expedition on the other extremity of the Empire. It was to take the Fortress of Sansi, in the Djatt country, which service having been expeditiously performed, he soon returned to Court, where the Emperor, already disgusted with him, for the imperiousness of his temper, deprived him of all his offices, as well as of all his Djaghirs ; and the poor man finding himself fallen at once in all the distresses of poverty and want, pined away and died of a broken heart. Let sincere and candid readers judge from this example, of what kind were the politics of that Prince, and let them conjecture what must have been his notions of gratitude, his principles of Government, and his particular turn of mind ! His unworthy acknowledgement of the services rendered by his son, and his shocking treatment of two such meritorious heroes, as Qhan-djehan and Séyd-abdollah, whom he confined and vexed in a variety of manners, speak for themselves, and require no proofs or commentary.

After the conquest of Bidja-p8r, and the circular letters sent throughout the Empire to announce that acquisition, the Emperor, under pretence of visiting the monument of Séyd-mohammed-

ghiss8-deraz(137), or the long-haired, sent his equipage forwards ; he at the same time wrote to Saadet-qhan, the Sezavol(138), to take care to send to the presence the money promised by the King of Haider-abad. Two or three months before, he had so far complied with his son's request, as to send that King a dress of honor, as a token of approbation of the treaty concluded. The dress and jewels were sent ; but all the world knew it to be only a snare intended to lull that unfortunate man asleep, and to put him off his guard. For at the same time, he wrote to Saadet-qhan that the Imperial standards would certainly advance to the walls of Haider-abad ; but that meanwhile he ought to recover from Ab8l-hassen as much of the promised money as he could, by whatever means, and that his zeal and abilities would be measured by his success in bringing that affair to a completion. That officer, on this order, pressed the King of Haider-abad so much, that the latter expressed his surprise at so much rigour ; when the other informed him that the payment of that money would prove the only means of obtaining his pardon from the Emperor. The King answered, that to find so much ready money after such a long war would be impossible ; but that he had jewels of high value, and that their amount would go a great way towards discharging the debt. He at the same time sent him nine Qhoans or tables covered with loose gems, to which no price was fixed, but which had been separately weighed, put into bags of fine linen, and sealed. He had likewise sent a message to request his keeping these jewels for two or three days as pledges, in which time he would endeavour to find out as much ready money as he could ; and that at that time his keeper of the jewel-office would wait upon him to fix their respective values ; after which he might send both the money and jewels to the Emperor, together with a supplique particularising the " submissive manner in which Ab8l-hassen had executed

*Artful management of Aoreng-zib's.* "the Imperial commands, and his hopes that His Majesty "would be pleased to grant him a full receipt and discharge."

(137) Ghiss8-deraz, he in effect wore very long hairs that trailed to the ground ; nor is such a length of hair uncommon amongst Fakirs, who wash it with a lixivium that disgusts all vermin, but hardens the hair, lengthens it, and gives it the appearance of a dirty red.

(138) Sezavol, the Enforcer.

The author resumes the Siege of Haider-abad.

This supplique was backed by some baskets of fruit for the Imperial dessert. Saddet-qhan, who had been bred in Aoreng-zib's school, and was as cunning, faithless, and artful as his master, sent the baskets of fruit to the presence, but joined to them the jewels lodged in his hands as pledges ; and two or three days had elapsed already, when the unfortunate King received certain intelligence that the Emperor had set out from Calberga, and was marching to besiege the fortress of Golconda. The intelligence was become public. Ab8l-hassen, confounded at this piece of news, and sensible that he had nothing to hope from the Emperor, sent word to Saddet-qhan, " That his intention " in despoiling his consort and family of their jewels, and in " stretching every nerve to find out some money, was to soften " the Emperor's heart in his behalf ; but since His Majesty seemed bent on the ruin of an unfortunate Prince, the former " agreement ceased of course ; and he therefore requested the " return of the jewels, as there remained no hopes at all of any " favour or commiseration from the Imperial benignity." Saadet-qhan answered, " That being compelled by an Imperial order " to urge payment, and uninformed of His Majesty's intention of " coming this way, he had sent to the presence both fruit and " jewels, the latter sealed as he had received them ; and that as " a zealous attentive servant of His Majesty's, he could not act " otherwise. That this matter being already over, he had nothing to offer in atonement at this present unexpected juncture, " but his own head and life, both which he would be glad to " sacrifice for the Emperor's service." This answer of Saadet-qhan's having produced some more messages, and replies, people were sent to his lodgings to bring the boxes of jewels from thence ; and as a sharp dialogue took place on that subject for two or three days together, Saadet-qhan sent a last answer in these words : " I acknowledge, Prince, that you are in the right, " and that my conduct has been artful ; but in this I have acted " by order ; for it had become incumbent on me, as I valued my " own safety, to comply punctually with my instructions ; and " now, become your culprit, I have nothing to offer you in atonement for the perfidy of my conduct, but my own life. Take it, " then, if you like it, and afford that handle against you to a " man who is seeking this longwhile a pretence to ruin you and

"your family. Else, so long as I am alive, there will remain "hopes of my being able to soften the Emperor's heart, so far, "as to make him alter the resolution he has set out with; and "it may be expected, that sensible of the lenity shewn me, I "shall be constantly employed in obliging and serving you." This singular speech made a singular effect on the King. Pleased with the man's readiness to expose his own life for his master's service, and with the frankness with which he acknowledged his fault, the King thought proper to abstain from offering him any injury. He even came to admire his zeal and magnanimity, and sending for him, he applauded his devotion to his master, made him a present of a dress of honour, and added to it a Djemedher, or Decanian poniard, studded with jewels, as well as some other valuable presents.

By one of those chances for which no human conjecture can account, this very day happened to be one of those in which Ab8l-hassen used to converse with learned men and divines, and mention was made of the Emperor's zeal for religion, and of the regard he always shewed to learned religious men. This observation was glanced at by the learned men then present, who observed, "That his ordering his people to cut the throats of so many fine horses sent him by the Emperor of Iran(139), and "their flesh to be distributed to the poor, might be reckoned as "a token of his hatred to heresy, but was no great proof of that "zeal for religion, which so strongly recommends to repress and "keep under controul the passions of the heart and the effusions "of anger; and they added, that had the value of those horses, or "the horses themselves, been distributed to the poor, they would "have been the better for it, and the intent of liberality had been "better fulfilled." Luckily for the Emperor that Saadet-qhan was present. This officer, equally ingenious and brave, undertook to answer for his master's behaviour on that occasion; and he did

The Emperor's fanatical conduct ingeniously defended by his envoy.

it in a manner equally subtle and rational. "He acknowledged "that in the manner in which that action of his had been mis- "reported, it must of course have fallen under the animadversion "of men of sense and good nature, but that the fact had in "reality happened in the following manner; nor had any order "been given to cut the throats of those horses,—it is only a

"groundless report : The Emperor was reading the Coran, "when those horses were brought to his sight. His Majesty, "pleased with their appearance, wanted to bring to a pause "his accustomed quantity of reading, and to put it off for "another day ; but at that very moment, his reading lead him to "that part of the Holy Book, where mention is made that Soléi- "man, son of Dä8d(140), (upon whom be peace and grace for "ever !) having been presented with some fine horses, paused in "his prayers of ecclesiastical precept, and from pause to pause "he slipt likewise over the time allotted to the preformance of "prayers of Divine precept(141) ; upon which it was revealed "to him, that he must order those horses to have their throats "cut. The Emperor having gone throughout that chapter, "thought the contents addressed to himself, and to keep his own "concupiscence under controul, he imitated the action of Saint "Soléiman (on whom be peace !), and ordered the horses to be "slaughtered. Let the uninformed world, added Sadet-qhan, "say as it shall please ; the fact is exactly as I have related." The Doctors, having quietly heard the report, observed that, "If "the fact had really happened as it was just now reported, how "came it that the horses were sent two by two to the doors of "the Iranian Lords in the Imperial service(142), and slaughter- "ed there ?" Saadet-qhan answered, "That this was also a "groundless report, which had been much embroidered by the "malignity of an uninformed public ; and that the fact was as "follows : Shah-djehan-abad being then a new city, there were "Persian Lords lodged in every quarter of it ; and as slaughter- "ing the horses in one single place might have occasioned a "crowd and some tumult, whilst the poor of the next quarter "would have remained without their share, orders were given to "slaughter the horses in every quarter, two by two, that every

---

(140) Solomon, son of David.

(141) The prayers of the Mahometans are to be pronounced five times a day, at stated times precisely ; nor is it lawful to postpone them without some urging necessity. They consist of several genuflexions, prosterations, and recaats, or couples of chapters of the Coran. Some of these recaats are reputed of Divine precept, and some are instituted by the Church. The former cannot be dispensed with ; the latter may upon an emergency.

(142) Those Lords were all of the Shyah sect, as well as the Emperor of Iran, or King of Persia.

"one might enjoy a share of their flesh without tumult(143)." Such was the turn which the envoy gave to this strange affair; but the Emperor informed of this conversation by the *Gazette of Haider-abad*, was exceedingly pleased with Saadet-qhan's ingenious solutions, and he wrote him an obliging letter full of applause; after which he marched straight to Haider-abad. Ab8l-hassen confounded at this sudden intelligence, wrote a very respectful letter to the Emperor, where he mentioned his having submitted to every condition imposed upon him by the treaty, and his readiness to execute any further commands that should be laid upon him. This letter was drawn up in a very humble style, and sent by an able speaker, who had orders to spare no submission and no supplication that could sooth the Emperor's mind. And, in fact, he spared nothing in his power, but could not prevail on the innate malignity of the Emperor's heart. He answered, that his reply would be

---

(143) As there is much Tartarism remaining in Delhi, where there is a white quarter called Mogul-p8ra, which contained fifty thousand T8rani inhabitants, horse-flesh is reckoned a dainty; and in the Ramazan, which is both the Mussulman's Carnival and Lent, they feed much on horse's flesh; but the Day of the Sacrifice, they never fail to slaughter horses, in compliment to their own cravings, and camels, in compliance with the Prophet's custom and taste. The truth is, that the horses were slaughtered out of spite to the Shyah's sect; and that Saadet-qhan's narrative is only an ingenious apology, in which he has made an artful use of a passage of the Coran. For the fact is as follows:—The Emperor, on ordering those fine horses to be slaughtered, said, it is true, *that to receive presents from an heretic was sinful*; but he also had another reason. The Ambassador he had sent to the Court of Iran, and who had brought from thence a Persian Envoy and some fine presents, informed his master of the following particulars: Shah-soltan-soléiman (the King of Persia), who was very fond of wine, and fond of uttering extempore verses in his cups, having heard the Indian Ambassador design his master by the expression, *Aalemghir*, Conqueror, could not help giving way to his vein for sarcastical verses, and he bolted out immediately: *Aalemghir! Is it then by turning murderer of his brother, and jailer of his father, that he has acquired that title? Or is it by eating much cheese that he is come to strike money in his name?* For Aoreng-zib, who lived only on vegetables, was very fond of cheese as well as kichery; which last is the usual fare of poor people, and a mess of boiled rice and pulse, mixed together.

*Burader C8sh, Peder-ghir,*

*C8dja Shudi! Aalemghir!*

*Sikkesedi be serb Peinir.*

Which last verse was but a sarcastical parody of that other put upon Aoreng-zib's coins, struck in Decan.—*Sikkesedi be serb Shimshir*—it is by dint of sword, he has been enabled to strike money.

delivered to Ab8l-hassen by a sword and a spear ; and forgetting that himself had kept in prison his own father, his own respectful children ; that he had put his brothers to death, (brothers become his prisoners of war ; brothers reduced to a state of the highest distress), and had served in the same manner a poor friar, a Fakyr, for no other reason than that he seemed too much affected by his friend, the prisoner Prince's death ; unmindful that he had covered all those crimes, and all the artifices of a continual double dealing with the cloak of religious zeal (a cloak become now a public object of banter and detestation) ; unmindful of his having verified in his person the sentence of the Holy Book : *You recommend virtue to others, and neglect it yourself* ; he published a manifesto, setting fortl. what he called Ab8l-hassen's crimes. The purport was, "That although the life of that wretched was one "continual scene of shocking shameful actions, nevertheless it "became proper to mention one in a hundred, and to shew a "sample out of a heap. That, first of all, he had appointed for "his Prime Minister an infidel, a pagan, a man equally crue, "and covetous, who carried an iron rod over the heads of so "many Séyds, so many Shehs, so many Musulmen, so many "venerable learned men. That he was publicly addicted to all "kinds of lusts, even to those of the most ugly and unnatural "kind. That his days and nights were spent in drinking and in "a crapulous debauchery, that had disabled him from distin- "guishing Paganism from Musalmanism, oppression from justice, "and profligacy from piety and good morals. That he had of "late entered into strict connections with that Western Pagan, "Simb-ha the Marhatta, to whom he had very lately sent one "lac of H8ns(144), notwithstanding the exhortations and re- "presentations of a number of grave religious men that had been "sent him to put a stop to those connections, and to recall him "from an alliance so repugnant to the Word of God. That "all the effect produced by those remonstrances, was only to "put him upon precautioning himself, by filling his ears with "the cotton of pride and neglect, and by addicting his time to "a course of crapule and debauchery against the remorses of "conscience and the thoughts of eternity."

"A fine thought this ! and a curious expedient ! "

Aoreng-zib's  
manifesto  
against the  
King of Hai-  
der-abad.

(144) Pagodas. That man spoken of so slightly here, is not less than Simba-dji, the Marhatta Monarch.

Such a manifesto having convinced Ab8l-hassen that there were no hopes left of pacification, he turned his views towards making a proper defence; and he sent orders to his bravest Generals, Sherze-qhan, Sheh-minhadj, and Mustepha-qhan, *alias* Abdol-rezac, the Larian, to be upon their guard, and to fight the enemy. The Emperor meanwhile being arrived within two days' journey of Haider-abad, thought proper to encamp; when some troops of the enemy's having just shewn themselves, returned to their main, which was at a great distance from the Imperial army. However, even the efforts of that whole army of theirs could make no great impression upon the Imperialists, who were ten times their number, and furnished with an immense quantity of artillery and stores. But whilst the Emperor was encamped at two days' journey from Haider-abad, news came that Sheab-eddin, *alias* the victorious Ghazi-eddin-qhan, who after the conquest of Bidjap8r had been detached to besiege the fortress of Hibra-him-gur, was coming to the presence, in compliance with an Imperial command, after having sent forward a golden key, with a relation of the capture of that fortress. At these news the Emperor decamped, and marching directly, he took post within one coss of the fortress of Golconda. On his arrival, the Imperialists were attacked by the Haider-abadians, who after having performed as much as could be expected from their small numbers, retired again to their camp, at a distance from the Imperialists. Ghazi-eddin-qhan, arriving after this engagement, was preposed to the operations of the siege. He ordered mines to be sunk, dam-damas, or lofty cavaliers of earth and timber, to be raised, and trenches to be dug; so that the business of killing and wounding was regularly established. It was on this occasion that Abed-qhan, father to Ghazi-eddin-qhan, on passing by a mosque, where the holy words, "God's Victorious Lion," were engraven(145), attempted to efface them with the point of his spear, and directly had his hand carried off by a canon-ball; a wound of which he languished two days, and which carried

Siege of Gol  
conda, by Ao-  
reng-zib.

---

(145) This is a title given to Aaly by the Shyas; and as it was going to be effaced by a Sunni, no wonder that a Shya~~s~~ cannon-ball should have been sent, of course, to take off the sacrilegious hand.—The Author of these remarks, being himself upon the spot, in 1759, remembers to have seen these two verses on the black marble of the door of that very Mosque:—

him at last to the dreary desert of Nothingness. Meanwhile, and whilst the siege was vigorously pushed forwards, Ab8l-hassen, who had always experienced Soltan-muazzem's commiseration and lenity, applied again to that Prince; and after having opened his way by a respectful message and several rich presents, he requested him to intercede again in his behalf with the Emperor, and to supplicate His Majesty to forgive his crimes and misdemeanors, imputed or real. The Prince himself, who saw with a jealous eye the honor which the capture of such a fortress would confer both on Azem-shah, his younger brother, and on Ghazi-eddin-qhan, his favorite, was willing to snatch so much glory out of their hands, by precluding their further progresses by a sudden peace with the Haider-abadian King. He therefore kept some correspondence with the besieged; but this intention of his having been soon perceived by the Prince Azem-shah, by his favorite, Ghazi-eddin-qhan, and by some other Lords as great time-servers as himself, they joined their concerns together, and made such a report of that correspondence to the Emperor, as intirely alienated his mind from his eldest son, from his learned consort, N8r-en-nessa-begum(146), and from all the officers personally attached to them. Unfortunately for these disconsolate persons, there happened just at this time an event that totally estranged the father's mind: The superintendent of S8ltan-muazzem's household, as well as the superintendent of the women's carriages and quarter, joined together to represent to the Prince, that the besiegers being so very forward, and making continual sorties, it was to be feared lest they should some day or other turn their steps towards the quarter of the Prince's consort, it being at such a distance from the army, and thereby fully the lucid eye-ball of the Imperial honor. The Prince answered the request, by ordering the Princess's tents,

Soltan-muazzem, eldest son to the Emperor, is disgraced for attempting to manage a peace between the Emperor and the besieged King.

*Mei-qhor, Mus-haf S8z, Atesh ender Caaba Zen, Sakyn-i-b8t-qhane Bash, Merd8m usari mecon.*

Drink wine, burn the book, set the caaba on fire, live in a temple of idols, but never do wrong to man—a distich which contains the whole of a treatise on Ethics and is now spread all over India.

*Quod tibi vis, jubeas alii, hac formula legis.*

(146) N8r-en-nessa begum, the Princess glory of her sex. She was extremely beautiful, learned, and tenderly attached to her husband. We have some verses of her making.

with all those of the ladies, to be brought nearer to the headquarters, and of course nearer the besieged. So small a matter as this was taken up by Azem-shah and by his favorite, as well as by their whole party, as a mighty object. They gave notice to the Emperor that the Prince, who had this longwhile entered into connections with the besieged, was taking measures to retire with his family within the fortress; and the Emperor, who prided in his keenness of understanding and penetration, swallowed such a coarse report, without ever reflecting that if the Prince was really in such a criminal correspondence with the besieged King, he had no need of shutting himself up with him; he had only to send for the enemy's army of observation, and after joining it with his own troops, to fall at once upon the Imperialists. Such as was this report, it made a deep impression upon the Emperor's mind, and it kindled his resentment into a flame; and as the Prince's two principal officers had been of his own training and recommending, and he reckoned on their being still attached more particularly to their ancient master, he sent for them in secret, and put an infinity of questions to each of them apart. These were the superintendent of the Prince's private apartments, and the Eunuch Quoadja-abdol-mucarem. Promises, threats, lofty tone of voice, soothing expressions—all was made use of, and produced nothing. Both those men agreed in answering separately, "That they knew no other intention in the Prince, "but that of obtaining a pardon for Absl-hassen, and making his "peace; or at least of engaging him to surrender the fortress upon "terms; by either of which operations, he expected to reap much "honor and glory for himself. They added, that being acquainted "with nothing more, and firmly believing the Prince to be incapable of what was imputed to his charge, they could not think "of joining his accusers in a self-evident calumny." The unanimous answers of these two men, and their firm countenances and tone of voice, did not make any impression upon the Emperor's obdurate heart, and rivetted suspicions. Sending for the Imperial Prince, who was a man of so ripe an age(147), and of so much merit, and moreover his own eldest son, he ordered him into a rigorous confinement, as we have already mentioned. The Prince's learned and faithful consort, their children, his family,

---

(147) He was then forty.

eunuchs, favorites and dependants, not one of whom would quit his master, were all dragged with insult and ignominy, vexed in a variety of manners, and kept in close confinement for a number of years together. The Emperor confiscated all his equipage, which he joined to his own, degraded him from his military rank of forty thousand horse, broke and disbanded his Brigade of seven thousand effective troopers, with each of them two and three horses, and resumed his Djaghirs, or appanages, which he gave in payment to his troops. It was remarked that, on the first day, his order was to confine the Prince's consort, without touching her property. Two days after, the order was altered ; and a certain decrepit eunuch, very ugly, very choleric, and very unguarded in his expressions, was sent with orders to take away the Princess, just in the dress he should find her ; in which condition he was to carry her with contempt and ignominy into a tent just big enough for the prisoners, and there she was to be close confined, after having been deprived of all her clothes, furniture, and jewels, not excepting those she might be found to wear actually ; and those were expressly restricted to those at her arms, and ears, or over her clothes(148). The eunuch having spoken roughly to the Princess, the latter, without losing her temper, cast a disdainful look at him from head to foot, and said : “ *I look upon the Emperor to be my father. These jewels, these honors, this respect are all of his own bestowing. Let him take them back again ; I have no objections. But how can it become thee to talk to me in that new manner ?* ” The eunuch having taken fire at this language, the Prince's sister, then present, interceded for the prisoner. But he paid no attention to her intreaties ; and he ordered his prey to be carried away, directing that she should receive no more victuals and no more clothes than what were absolutely necessary.

The Emperor  
or imprisons  
his eldest son

(148) This enumeration is a striking proof of the Musulman or Indian delicacy in whatever concerns women ; for the Princess, according to custom, actually wore jewels at her neck, some of whom hung between her two breasts ; another piece of jewel descended down her navel ; her drawers were made fast with a cordon fringed with pearls, and her legs and feet were likewise adorned with anklets and rich rings. But not only it would have been an atrocious indecency in a stranger to lay his hand upon any of those parts, or even upon her bare skin, but shocking in the Emperor himself to mention her drawers in his order. That word is never mentioned in enumerating a lady's dress.

The Prince himself underwent a similar treatment, and it became daily more rigorous. After a length of time he received a message, advising him to confess his crimes and to shew his repentance, that his numberless sins and misdemeanors might receive the Imperial pardon. The Prince, shocked to hear the word, crime, denied his having been guilty of any; and he answered, "That although it was true that he must be guilty

Noble answer of the Imperial Prince.  
"of a variety of transgressions in the sight of an all-perfect  
"God, and of course in the sight of his father, who was His  
"shadow, and His representative on earth, yet that he was so  
"fortunate, as not to perceive in himself any such crime as  
"should excite so important a confession; and the more so,  
"as in fact he was not conscious of having committed any."

This answer produced nothing but an addition of severity in the Emperor, and an addition of ill usage to the Prince. He was denied the privilege of having his head shaved, his beard trimmed, his nails pared; he was debarred from drinking cool water, eating warm bread(149), and wearing good clothes. A principal eunuch of N8r-en-nessa's was also confined, and his property confiscated; and to make him confess the charges brought against the Prince and Princess, he was put to the rack, and for some time was tormented in a variety of manners, but without it being possible to bring any thing out of his mouth but encomiums on his mistress and master, and complaints of the Emperor's unmerited severity. The Emperor, hearing that his case was become dangerous, and that he could bear the rack no more, ordered him to be dismissed. Mirza-shukur-ollah, better known in the world under the name of Shaker-qhan, maternal uncle to the Princess, was involved in her disgrace, and confined, together with three or four eunuchs more. The latter were tormented in a variety of manners, and on their confessing nothing to the purpose, they were dismissed. As to the different species of miseries suffered by the two illustrious prisoners and their families, they are more numerous and various than our imagination can bear, and our pen can describe.

(149) May God Almighty always bless you with warm bread and cool water! is a blessing commonly bestowed by parents upon their children, all over Persia and Hindostan.

We have mentioned that Hibrahim-qhan, Generalissimo to the King of Háider-abad, forced by his master's attempt to arrest him, and to put him to death, or possibly prompted by a principle of ambition, had fled to Soltan Muázzem, who had introduced him to the Emperor. The latter now thought proper to remember him. The transuge General was raised to the rank of seven thousand horse, and decorated with the surname of Muhabbet-qhan(150). Meanwhile, Ghazi-eddin-qhan was pushing on the siege vigorously ; and the trenches by gaining a little every day, were far advanced, when they were at once attacked by Mustepha-qhan, *alias* Abdol-rezac, the Larian, and by Sheh-nizam, the Decanian. The two Haider-abadian Generals fell upon the trenches, and committed much havoc. Kishversing, pushing hard at the head of his Radjp8ts, was wounded, and fell from his horse ; and a number of his men throwing themselves in the enemy's way to rescue him from their hands, were put to the sword. Some considerable officers of the enemies fell likewise ; but although repeated efforts were made by the Imperialists to carry their bodies away, they were several times rescued by the Háider-abadians, who not only took them away themselves, but carried likewise the bodies of many notable personages of the Imperial army. This engagement proved very warm ; nor was it without continual exertions and repeated efforts of that number of brave T8ranians and Iranians as well as Afghan and Radjp8ts, officers in the Emperor's service, that the enemy was repulsed and obliged to return within the fortress. In this siege of Golconda such extraordinary actions were performed by the besieged, as look fabulous, and yet have really happened. but as fortune did not favorise them, they all proved of no avail. Nevertheless, they greatly affected the Emperor, who now thought proper to turn his views towards gaining over to his party the principal officers of the besieged. These were plied with in a variety of manners : some were promised more extensive commands, and some were allured with brilliant dignities, extensive Djaghirs, and high offices of State. All, or almost all, yielded to these suggestions ; and both to secure their persons and fortunes, and also to get out of the fortress,

Vigorous  
sally of the  
besiegers.

The Emper-  
or debauches  
almost all the  
Generals of  
the besieged.

which they took to be an unauspicious abode, they all went over to the Emperor. Sheh-nizam himself, who had performed wonders in the last sally, deserted and came over. On his making his bow to the Emperor, he was honored with the surname of Mucareb-qhan, or the favourite Lord, decorated with the rank of six thousand horse, and the effectual command of five, and complimented with an appanage. Sheh-minhadj followed, with several other officers of note, and they were all as well as himself raised to high dignities, and complimented with offices and emoluments. The desertion was so great, that none remained with the besieged King but Abdollah-qhan, an Afghan, and Abdol-rezac, *alias* Mustepha-qhan, an Iranian of the city of Lar; and this latter remained faithful to the very last, for at last the Afghan himself deserted, and went away. In short, the only General that stuck to him to the very last day of the siege, who made such vigorous sorties, and contrived so many expedients to retard the capture of the place, (two articles which we shall mention briefly in the sequel), was this same Abdol-rezac the Larian. The efforts made by the besieged and their King, even after so many desertions, and the repeated defeats they gave the Imperialists—defeats that would have saved the fortress, had fortune been on their side—I have faithfully, although succinctly, copied from Naamet-qhan-aaly's history, without adding or detracting any thing from his narrative; nor is any thing advanced here, but which is confirmed, or virtually understood, by Hashem-aaly-qhan, the other historian, although he seems evidently to write with the greatest precaution. The siege drew to a length, and nothing was heard from both sides but a continual roaring of musketry, rockets, and artillery. The besiegers, however, had a considerable advantage over the besieged. They had plenty of those destructive machines called bombs; and the firing was so continual, and the smoke so thick and constant, that people came at last not to distinguish the day from the night; and not a day passed but some of the most forward amongst the Imperial Generals either fell dead, or were grievously wounded. After a month and some days' continual labour and slaughter, the trenches were brought close to the fossé, and the Emperor, informed of this, ordered his Taht-revan, or moving throne, to be carried close to the counterscarp,

where he took the legal ablutions, pronounced the office of the dead upon himself, made his death-bed prayers, and having sewn a bag of canvass with his own hands, he saw it filled with earth and placed properly ; he also ordered cannon to be mounted on some new batteries. But the army, meanwhile, had suffered so much from want of grain and necessaries, that even men of property being emaciated, little could be expected from common soldiers. There is no describing the miseries they suffered. Vast numbers of them died of mere want. To all these distresses was joined, under the Imperial auspices, a mortality, that swept people by shoals. Numbers, unable to bear hunger and famine any longer, deserted, and went into the fortress ; but some, being detected in favorising the besiegers, who had assisted them with victuals, were severely punished. Matters growing worse every day, the Emperor, to encourage the soldiery, sent a controrder to his son, Azem-shah, whom he had dispatched for quieting the Provinces of Odjéin and Acbar-abad. He was commanded to return to camp. Another important personage, Roh-ollah-qhan, a valiant General, and a wise counsellor of the Empire, who had been preposed to the Government of Bidja-p8r, was likewise commanded to repair to Court. But by this time the siege had lasted already three months, and it was at the end of so much time that Ghazi-eddin-qhan betook himself to the following expedient : Pitching upon the darkest part of a moon-less night, he got ready a number of picked men at the foot of the wall, who in a moment got upon the top of it. But the besieged having been awakened by the barking of a dog, killed all those that had got up, and overthrew the rest down the wall. The moment they were mounting, and some had already mounted, a Hadji-niehrab, (a man in favor with the Emperor, and who at that time was present as a spectator) ran back, and as soon as he discovered the Monarch from a very great distance, he commenced making bows of congratulation. The Emperor, who was then at his devotions on the carpet of prayer, chanced to pay as much attention to this report, and to those congratulations, as if they had been pronounced by the General himself; and losing his usual gravity and considerateness at once, he, without further inquiry, or taking any care to ascertain the report, made a sign for the Imperial music to strike

Famine in  
the Imperial  
camp,

An escalade  
m miscarries.

up, ordered his Taht-revan to be got ready, called for a full dress, and was going to look at his new conquest; he even received the compliments of the whole Court. In a few moments intelligence came, that the engagement had proved contrary to expectation; that the besiegers had suffered a great loss; and that the General, forced to abandon his undertaking, had returned to camp extremely mortified at such a miscarriage. This affair threw a great ridicule upon Hadji-mehrab, and finally upon the Emperor himself. In the evening intelligence came, that the Haider-abadian King had honored the dog with a collar of gold, and a gown of brocade, and had ordered his name to be inscribed amongst his most faithful servants. But this was not the only miscarriage that befel the Imperial arms.

About the middle of Shaaban, the rainy season set in with such a violent storm of rain, as distressed the whole army, but did nowhere so much havoc as upon the men at the trenches, which it ruined intirely. The batteries, the scaffoldings, the cavaliers, raised by Ghazi-eddin-qhan's ingenuity, were all over set, and levelled with the ground. In the very heighth of the storm and rain, the General, Abdol-rezac, made a sally at the head of the bravest of the garrison, and overthrew everything in his way. The massacre and confusion were so great, that Selim-qhan-qhashy, who was reputed one of the bravest men of the army, flung himself in a miry-hole in the ground, and remained concealed; and Saf-shiken-qhan, who had greatly distinguished himself throughout the siege, and was already weakened by two wounds, finding what havoc was going on, dropped down in the water and mud, and kept himself amongst the dead. Djem-shid-qhan, another officer of distinction, took to a corner, and in the darkness expected to escape, but he was discovered and taken prisoner. But Djelil, a slave-boy of the Emperor's, who

*Curious sally  
of the besieged.* had raised him to dignities under the surname of Serberah-qhan, was wounded and taken prisoner, with twelve officers of distinction. The Emperor hearing of such a disaster, ordered that seventy or eighty mountain-like elephants should be carried in the torrents occasioned by the storm, and served as so many bridges for the distressed to pass over, and especially for saving those of the trenches. The elephants were marched; but so far from being of any use, not one of them could stand the rapidity

of the water, so far from approaching the trenches ; and Haiat-qhan, the superintendent of the elephant-office, after having spent the whole day and part of a night in fruitless attempts, returned to camp. Meanwhile, the victorious tired with both the slaughter and storm, returned to the fortress, and presented their principal prisoners to their master. This Prince entertained them during four days together ; after which he dismissed them all with the utmost civility and regard, giving a dress of honour to each of them, and complimenting Serberah-qhan and Ghairet-phan in particular, with each a horse besides. Before their departure, he desired Serberah-qhan to go round the fortress, and to take a view of the magazines of provisions, powder, ball, and every necessary to sustain a siege. The other, after a full survey, was amazed at the immensity of the provision ; and on being dismissed, he was entrusted with a supplication and a message to the Emperor, both of the same purport. Abbl-hassen made them swear by their master's head and life, that they would deliver them faithfully. But when the two officers arrived in camp, they met with a very cold reception from the Emperor, who seemed to look upon them with an evil eye. Gháiret-qhan, who had the rank of a thousand horse, and the command of two hundred, was put at the head of a body of five hundred, and without being spoken to by a single word, he was sent to serve in Bengal, that is, sent in exile. Serberah-qhan was used more harshly. The Emperor observed that there was nothing strange in a slave-boy's running away from an engagement, and in his being taken prisoner ; and he then deprived him of his grade, but left that *wretched* (for such was his expression) the command of four hundred horse he had. As to the letter he brought, it was treated with the utmost disdain and superciliousness. He would not so much as look at it ; but sent it to be perused by the General Ghazi-eddin-qhan, with orders to make him a report of any thing in it that might deserve notice. Serberah-qhan, having seized that moment to represent that he had a message to deliver, was ordered to bring it at ten o'clock at night, at the head of His Majesty's bed. The Emperor being then in bed, both reports were brought forth, and found to be of one and the same import. The letter was as follows, and it deserves to be recorded :—“ After all these

Amazing quantities of all necessaries in Golconda.

Noble and  
curious letter  
of the Haider-  
abadian King  
to the Em-  
peror.

" hostilities, I still look upon myself to be one of your Majesty's  
" humble servants. If I have been guilty, whether knowingly  
" or otherwise, I have been abundantly punished ; and now I  
" hope from the benignity of the Imperial temper, that the time  
" of forgiveness is come at last. Nor is my hope without  
" grounds ; for on the supposition that the fortress is taken,  
" and your ever victorious Majesty should of course return to  
" your Imperial city, there is no doubt but that this country,  
" ravaged and ruined by a seven years' war, and become the  
" habitation of bats and owls, would be recommended to the  
" care of some one of your Imperial Court. What harm is there  
" in my being left to be that some one ? There is no doubt but  
" such a one will ask for himself, for his troops, and for the  
" expenses of Government, more than the country is likely to  
" produce hereafter ; he will ask a large sum likewise for  
" emergencies ; and that overplus must be disbursed from the  
" Imperial treasury. What he shall ask, besides, for putting a  
" country circumstanced as this is in a state of cultivation,  
" cannot be an inconsiderable object, as such a sum and such  
" an expenditure must be repeated for seven or eight years  
" together, before the country can recover an air of population  
" and cultivation. Now such a preposed as your humble servant,  
" would save all those unavoidable expenses to your Majesty's  
" treasury ; and nevertheless, he would continue to send to your  
" Imperial threshold, (that resort of the respects and homages  
" of all mankind) the same tribute as I used to pay to your  
" treasury in my days of dominion and prosperity. Besides  
" that, should my humble requests be granted, and your victo-  
" rious standards be prevailed upon to return towards Hindostan,  
" I promise that at every cosse which they shall measure, on  
" their return within the ruined dominions of this afflicted man,  
" I will pay into the Imperial treasury one lac of rupees ; and I  
" will pay another such lac, as a nuzzur to your footsteps for  
" every assault that shall have been given since your arrival  
" here. Nor is it fear that can prompt me to such confessions ;  
" it is with a view to put an end to all that effusion of Musulman  
" blood which has overflowed this country, and to enable the  
" faithful(151) of the victorious army to revisit their forsaken

(151) The King, by that word, understands those of his own sect, the Shyahs.

" homes, and to embrace and rejoin their forlorn families. Over  
 " and above all that, should my humble request not prove for-  
 " tunate enough to obtain the Imperial favor, and should it be  
 " the Imperial pleasure that the victorious army should lose  
 " some more time before these walls, I propose, in alleviation of  
 " the miseries of the suffering Imperial soldiers, to distribute five  
 " or six hundred thousand maunds(152) of grain which Djelil,  
 " the slave-boy of your household, has seen in the magazines of  
 " this place."

In answer to all these reasonable and advantageous pro-  
 posals, the Emperor contented himself with saying, "*That, if  
 Ab8l-hassen was really so submissive, and so much his servant,  
 he had nothing more to do, but to come of himself to his pre-  
 sence, with his hands bound before him, or else to let the Im-  
 perial officers bring him with his neck and hands bound; after  
 which,*" added he, "*I shall act as my goodness shall prompt me.*"

This negotiation took up the whole night. The next morn-  
 ing, contrary to Ab8l-hassen's expectation, the Emperor dispatch-  
 ed an order to the Divan of the Province of Barar to forward to  
 camp a variety of military stores, and in particular fifty thousand  
 bags of canvas, two yards in length and one yard in breadth.  
 A report of this order having been spread throughout the army,  
 excited a general murmur, and even the common soldiers asked,  
 "Where was the wisdom, where was the expediency, of sending  
 " for fifty thousand empty bags to fill up the ditch, instead of  
 " ordering them to be brought full of grain; after emptying  
 " which they might answer equally well? And had he not  
 " better accept the compassionate proffers of Ab8l-hassen's,  
 " and save the remaining army from perishing with distress  
 " and famine?"

But the Emperor, without minding these murmurs, enforced  
 the order by a number of corz-berdars guards, which were sent  
 with the letter. Meanwhile, on the nineteenth of Shaaban,  
 notice was given the Emperor that the mines were loaded and  
 ready, and the miners waited only for the order to set fire to  
 them. On this intelligence, the Emperor ordered that the guards  
 at the trenches, with a great number of other people, should set  
 up a general uproar as for an assault, to bring the besiegers

---

(152) A Maund is about seventy-six Pounds Avoirdupois, English.

upon the wall, and that then only fire should be given to the mines. All this scheme produced nothing. The brave and sagacious General, Abdol-rezac, *alias* Mustepha-qhan, had guessed the mines, and taken care to oppose them by three counter-mines, which he pushed against the enemy by the means of the stone-diggers in the place; and he was so lucky as to find out the enemy's three mines, and to take away the whole powder of one of them, after having poured water upon the two others, and gutted them of as much powder as he could take away with safety. The people in the trenches having made their appearance as for an assault, raised a general outcry; and this having brought vast crowds upon the crest of the wall, the miners, who waited only for such a moment, gave fire to one of the mines.

But as the powder of that part was entirely wet, and nothing good remained but what was on the side of the trenches, the

Three mines  
of the besieg-  
ers have a  
retrogade  
effect, and  
kill an infinity  
of people.

mine had a retrograde effect, and blew up an infinity of men about the trenches who were ready to mount to the assault, as well as a vast number of spectators; it also filled the trenches with rubbish, and it overthrew a great part of the parapet.

This event happened in the year 1097, of the Hedjrah, a number which by a strange fatality happened to tally exactly with the number of men killed by that accident; and several of these were men of great characters. On the smoke ceasing, no breach could be discovered in the wall, nor any appearance like it, that might favour the troops ready to mount to the assault. So far from that, they lost courage, and fell into confusion; and this being soon discovered by the besieged, they fell upon the besiegers like a storm, and put to the sword everything they met in the trenches or in the environs. Assistance came, and after a great loss the trenches were at last cleared of the enemy, and filled with men again. And people were yet busy in counting the survivors, when the second mine was fired, and this likewise having had a retrograde effect, up flew an infinity of stones and clods of earth, which, by falling again, killed and wounded an infinity of people, whose screams reached the cupola of heaven; and this accident killed double the numbers that had been lost by the former. On sight of this, the besieged rushed out again, cleared the trenches, and did everything in their power to make themselves masters of the circumvalation, behind which th-

whole army was encamped, and which had cost full six months' labour. The General Ghazy-eddin-qhan, seeing the consequence of what they intended, marched in person to oppose them. A scene of mutual slaughter took place, and notwithstanding every effort made to drive the besieged, they remained masters of the field ; and here again the number of the slain proved equal to what the two former actions had cost. So many disasters, one after another, could not but kindle the Imperial anger. That anger, capable to set the world on fire, was kindled into a flame. He sent for an elephant, and mounting directly, was followed by all his Generals and Grandees, and by all the braves of the army. Being arrived at a place where the balls were whistling in every direction, he ordered his moving throne to be laid upon the ground, unconcernedly took his seat in it, and ordered the besieged to be driven back. Whilst he was speaking, one of his guards, who was laying his hand upon the throne, had it carried away by a ball of cannon ; and this accident did not affect the Emperor. He took no notice of it, and without betraying the least concern or trepidation, he continued to give his orders, and to exhort his people to behave manfully. At this moment, the clouds opening, a violent rain fell, and prevented either the Emperor's victory or his defeat. In a moment the plain was covered with waves, as if it had been an open sea. A stop was put to all further operations, and very one, without purposing any thing else, thought only of seeking shelter at home. The works, the trenches, the batteries, those lofty cavaliers that seemed to reach the cupola of heaven—all that was overset ; and the Emperor, wet to the skin as well as others, thought proper to return with his whole Court. At this sight the besieged, always intent on turning every opportunity to their own profit, rushed out of their gates, and falling upon the trenches, levelled them with the ground instantly ; whilst others, finding in the mud those large guns that had cost so much money and time before they could be fixed upon the cavaliers, dragged some of them with a great deal of ease to the gates, and spoiled or rendered the rest unserviceable. They, likewise, carried away some thousand bags that had been filled with earth and thrown in the ditch. Amongst these was one that had been sewn by the Imperial

*Curious  
sortie of the  
besieged.*

*The Emper-  
or repairs to  
the breach,  
and behaves  
with the ut-  
most intrepid-  
ity.*

hands, and this also was carried away in triumph, and was with the others employed in mending the breaches of the walls. In this sortie the Imperial General did not spare his own person ; he was everywhere, but to no purpose. Matters were past remedy. The Emperor's own elephant, a favorite animal (153), that had cost forty thousand rupees, after having greatly suffered from the rain, mire, and wind, was killed by a cannon-ball. That day also proved a blank one, and nothing at all could be done. The second day, the Emperor mounted early, and gave orders to fire the third mine. But no fire would take effect. Every one wondered at such an event ; when some spies gave advice that the besieged had taken away, from within, part of the powder, had wetted the rest, cut away the saucissons, and rendered all that work of no use. The Emperor, confounded and afflicted at such a series of reverses, was obliged to return to his quarters, after having put up the assault for some other day. Every thing remained quiet for some days, as numbers of Generals and Lords had been wounded and disabled, and the Generalissimo Ghazi-eddin-qhan, himself, had received two wounds, which obliged him to remain at home, and to leave the operations of the siege to the Imperial Prince, Azem-shah, in compliance with the Emperor's pleasure. The Monarch, meanwhile, who made no account of Ab8l-hassen, whether dead or alive, settled a regular government at Haïderabad, which city he ordered to be mentioned in the accounts and records under the name of Theatre of Sacred War. He appointed a Governor and a Divan or intendant in that city, established collectors and a revenue office, and instituted several Courts of Justice ; and all that was done with as much unconcern and sang-froid, as if the Haïder-abadian King had never existed. Abd8l-rahim-qhan was preposed to take an account of the houses and inhabitants of

(153) Such a price for an elephant is a very extraordinary one ; nevertheless, history has conserved the names and prices of two elephants much dearer, that had been bought by Shah-djehan, father and predecessor to Aoreng-zib ; one, for one hundred and forty, and the other, for two hundred thousand rupees ; and we have seen the portraits of those animals.—However, the ball must have been very large, or at least have struck the animal in the head or at the heart ; for an elephant has been seen, who did not drop dead but after having carried in his bowels a ball of four pounds, during a journey of twenty-five miles.

that great city; and the Emperor hearing that Ab8l-hassen had permitted some sectaries to settle in the suburbs, and also had given vogue to some sects of Deists, he ordered these people to be driven away; and levelling their habitations to the ground, together with some temples of idols, he ordered a number of mosques to be erected in their stead.

It was observed during the siege, that Saf-shiken-qhan, son to Cavam-eddin-qhan, very different in that from the other Iranian Lords in camp, had exerted himself in every occasion. Once a learned Iranian, who was his friend and companion, took occasion to observe, that there was in the place a multitude of Söyds of undoubted extraction, a number of faithful believers(154), and a number of learned venerable personages, who could expect nothing at his hands after the capture of the place, but captivity to themselves, and defilement to their families. "How "then," said the venerable man, raising his voice, "can you ac- "count to your own heart for all those efforts you are daily "making to undo these unfortunate people?" The man, un- moved by the expostulation, answered,: "He had done no- "thing but his duty, and would do it again; and that, were "Imam Husseïn himself within the place, he would not desist from "his endeavours to take the fortress." This answer of his soon went throughout the whole camp, where it was reputed a kind of blasphemy. The Emperor himself found fault with it, and spoke of the man with displeasure. His blasphemy was supposed to be a fictitious one, and to cover some intelligence with the besieged. He was disgraced, imprisoned, and his property was confiscated. In a little time, the Emperor, reflecting on his bravery, and on his meritorious services, took him into favor again, and gave him the office of Grand-master of the artillery, an office of importance, now vacant, and which had been refused both by Selabet-qhan and by others, who did not care to expose themselves to the Emperor's caprices. The Emperor, mean- while, seeing how badly the siege went on, was intent on de- bauching the best officers and best servants of the besieged King; and as people are little inclined to fidelity in unprosperous times, most of the friends and Generals of that unfortunate

(154) The Author, a cankered Shyah, reckoned, for believers, only those of his own sect; and this illiberal turn of mind he betrays everywhere.

Prince quitted his Court, one after another, and were immediately complimented with brilliant dignities, high titles, kettle-drums, fringed palekies, elephants, horses, jewels, and djaghirs. Meanwhile, Sheh-minhadj, that valorous Commander of the besieged, having been accused of an intention to desert, was imprisoned; and there now remained none to Ab8l-hassen, of all his friends and Generals, but Abdol-rezac the Larian, and Abdollah-qhan-tirrin the Afghan. By this time the siege had lasted full eight months. But those two Commanders remained inviolably attached to the besieged King, and rendered him an infinity of services. Never did fidelity and zeal shine so conspicuously. Even these two men, so circumstanced, underwent an attack from the Emperor. An Imperial letter came to Abdol-rezac, conferring upon him both the grade and effectual command of six thousand horse, with several offices, titles, and dignities. The General, having read the letter with derision, carried it upon the crest of one of the towers, and after shewing it to the men in the trenches, he tore it to pieces, with every mark of contempt and indignation, and threw the pieces to the people below. Sending at the same time for the man, who had brought the letter, he gave him this verbal answer: "Sir, tell *"your master that this war looks, without comparison, like that of Kerbelah(155); and I hope, so long as I live, to exert myself in behalf of my master, as did, to their eternal honor and glory, those seventy-two heroes who stood by Imam Hussein, and shed their blood in covering him with their persons against those two-and-twenty thousand cowards who were not ashamed to smite those valorous fellows, and to fight the Messen-ger's beloved grandson. I hope to imitate their fidelity and courage, and to do myself honor both in this world and the other."*" The Emperor, hearing this answer, said publicly,

Heroical behaviour and unshaken fidelity of that General.

(155) Kerbelah, a town westward of Bagdad, where Hussein, grandson to Mahomed, having attempted with four thousand men, that joined his cause, to set up for Qhalif or successor, in opposition to Yezid, who then reigned over the immense extent of Musulman Empire, was defeated by the Governor of Basrah, abandoned by most of his people, and reduced only to seventy-two men; who as well as their master, perished mostly by thirst. It must also be observed that Aoreng-zib, with almost his whole army, was a Suny, and that the Haider-abadian King, with most of his people, was a Shyah.

*"That wretch Larian's mind is of the homely kind;"* but in private he paid the highest encomiums to his fidelity, services, and unshaken attachment. And although it was in the decrees of Providence that the place should be taken at last, the siege lasted some time longer, as if to afford time to religious zeal, military talents, heroical valour, and unshaken fidelity, and to many other noble qualifications of both parties, to be put to the test, and to be weighed in the scales of discernment. So that the quantity and quality of merit in every Commander and every man present, came to be ascertained beyond a doubt. The thoughtless exertions of the Imperial Generals were also properly ranked; and a proper value set upon the Emperor's sewing a bag with his own hands, after having purified and washed himself according to law, and pronounced the office of the dead upon his ownself. The public rated properly that obstinacy which he manifested in digging trenches and filling ditches at an immense expense, and in sacrificing an infinity of innocent or meritorious lives to gain the possession of a heap of stones. Yet all that as well as all those assaults, intermixed with stratagems, availed nothing; and the place was at last taken without the intervention of either sword or spear, and barely by debauching, one after another, Ab8l-hassen's best Commanders and friends, and by giving in the face of the universe public and continual approbations to perfidy, ingratitude, and perjury. The event happened at the end of Zilcaad, in the year 1098 of the Hedjrah, by the underhand management of Roh-ollah-qhan (who had succeeded to the wounded Generalissimo). This General, by the means of Rostem-qhan-peni, an Afghan Commander in the Imperial service, opened a correspondence with Abdollah-tirrin, that famous Afghan General in the place, on whose valour and inviolable attachment we have hitherto bestowed so many encomiums. Even this man was gained by high offers. He commanded at the gate called the wicket; and, giving way to that perfidy that seems innate with the Afghan, and never fails to make its effects soon or late, he agreed to deliver the gate. At one o'clock in the morning, he set it open, and admitted Roh-ollah-qhan, who was accompanied by Mohtar-qhan, that Pagan of Saf-shiken-qhan, and the eunuch Qhoadjah-mucarrem, now Djan-nessar-qhan, every one of them

Golconda  
betrayed,  
surprised,  
and taken.

at the head of a body of choice troops. Other troops, finding the wall abandoned, mounted by the breach, and by a variety of means got up to the very top, being everywhere connived at by that perfidious Afghan. Whilst all this was going on at the wicket, the Imperial Prince, Azem-shah, was advanced to the gate, in expectation of seeing it open. For numerous troops had already poured in, and were busy in taking possession of posts ; at the same time a scream of woe, and a scream of desolation, such as that which shall happen on the Day of Judgment, rose at once from the inner apartments of Ab8l-hassen's ladies, that the place was taken, and every thing lost. This scream was echoed by some other seraglios in the neighbourhood. It was these screams that awakened Abdol-rezac the Larian. Having no time to arm himself at all points, he snatched up a sabre and buckler, and throwing himself upon a horse that had a bridle but no saddle, he with only twelve men that were at hand, advanced towards that part whence he heard the screams. that is, towards the whole host of enemies, which were ranging themselves in battle in the Palace-yard ; for by this time the main gate of the fortress being wide open, troops poured one after another, like the waves of an angry sea, and they had filled every part of the place. Abdol-rezac was now over against his master's Palace-gate. Without minding the few men by whom he was attended, or the numerous throngs that crowded on all sides, he rushed in the very middle of thousands of unsheathed sabres, with so much eagerness that his little troop was lost in a moment, and disappeared amongst them. Without being dismayed by that disaster, he cried with all his might, that so long as he was alive, he would prove a friend to Soltan Ab8l-hassen. He said, and kept advancing to the gate, making his way with his own blood. He was aimed at from all sides, struck on all sides, and he received so many wounds, from the top of his head to the nail of his toe, that he looked like a shrub of full blown roses. Such feats of prowess were that day exhibited by that undaunted man, as are almost past belief, and past the human power ; and such as would have excited the wonder, and extorted the admiration, of a R8stem and a Sohrab, two ancient heroes, who would have gladly taken upon their shoulders the trappings of submission, and followed him as his friends to the

Amazing exertions of  
General Abdol-rezac.

end of the world(156). He was now arrived close to the gate, but had received twelve large wounds. Here he received another, which blinded one of his eyes, and by throwing the skin of the forehead over the other, blinded him totally. Here he was assaulted again, received many other wounds, and his arm was disabled ; his body, weakened by so much loss of blood, was seized with an universal trembling. In this extremity, he had presence of mind enough to turn the bridle about, and to abandon himself to his own horse ; and the animal, although much wounded, carried him back to his house, where four men took him down, and laid him upon his carpet. Hashem-aaly-qhaf, who enjoyed then a high command in the Imperial army, as well as at Court, and was present in all this amazing affair, writes that all those that aspire to raise a character for valour and attachment, ought to have their minds illumed from the beams emitted by that incomparable gem of the sea of prowess and fidelity, if they intend to serve their lords and masters with a zeal and truth, that may entitle them to the applause of their contemporaries, and to the secret and public favors of their Maker in this world and the other.

King Ab8l-hassen, awakened by this general scream, both from within and without, got up, and guessing the subject of so much tumult, he used his endeavours to pacify those unfortunate ladies, asked their pardon for past offences, bid them farewell for ever, took an affectionate leave of them all, and was at some pains to disengage himself from their hands. At last he parted from so tender a scene, and without forgetting his high rank, or losing his wonted firmness of mind for a moment, he came out of the sanctuary, went to the Hall of Audience, and took up his seat on his royal mesned, as usual, waiting patiently for those uninvited guests which fate was sending him. But this happening to be the time customary for his principal meal, he sent orders for its being brought up immediately. He was yet speaking, when Roh-ollah-qhan, the Generalissimo, entered the hall, followed by M8htar-qhan, and the other eminent Lords and Commanders mentioned above. The King of Haider-abad, without being moved by their multitude, let them draw near, and then

Fearless  
behaviour of  
the King of  
Haider-abad.

(156) See the Persian history, called the Book of Kings (*Shah-nameh*), an historical Poem, in sixty thousand distiches.

gave them the salute of “*Peace be to ye,*”(157), but without carrying his hand to his head or forehead, or making any the least inclination or motion of the body, inconsistent with his Royal dignity. He spoke to the Generalissimo and to the others, with an elegance of language, and a flow of expression that astonished those illustrious personages, and he intermixed his discourses with such marks of benignity and attention, as well as grandeur and superiority, as charmed and over-awed them all.

## VERSES:

“ Wise man, said he in verses, do not raise a Buckler against an arrow shot by  
“ Fate.

“ When destiny leads the attack, it is immaterial whether thou be behind the  
“ wall of a fortress, or in an open plain.

“ Crouch to the ground, when merciless adversity directs its shaft against thee;  
“ Crouch low, that it may pass over thee without doing thee harm.”

He continued discoursing in this manner until the dawn of the day, when the bacäol, or superintendent of the kitchen-office, announced that His Majesty was served. Ab8l-hassen turning to the Imperialists, asked their leave, and also invited them to partake of his repast. Some amongst them, who were of a rough intolerant temper, were for objecting to his having that liberty; but the Persian Moguls found no inconvenience at all in it, and Moqhtar-qhan in particular, with two or three more, accepted the invitation. Roh-ollah-qhan excused himself politely, but could not help expressing his amazement at a meal taken at such a time. “ It is my customary time,” said Ab8l-hassen.—*Admitted*, said Roh-ollah-qhan, *I know it; but cannot*

(157) *Selam-alec*, or *Peace be to thee*, (and these words are Arabic) is always the salute obligatory on a Mussulman, and it is always answered by the words *Aleic-es-selam*; to thee also be peace. This salutation is never used but by Mussulmen and to Mussulmen.—The Indian salutation consists in an inclination of the head and body, with the palm of the hand, that is, the four fingers, carried and applied flat to the middle forehead, so as to cross it vertically. This is the salute which for instance, any man not an equal, would make to Mubarec-ed-dowlah, the nominal Navvab of Bengal. The latter would return the salute, or, as is the Indian expression, would take it up, by keeping his head erect, and carrying his four fingers to the top of his turbant, or, if more kind, to his forehead. To persons of some distinction, a full inclination of the head is added, a half, a quart, an eight: all niceties, which a careful observation may take notice of, with as many more in the person who inclines both his head and body.

*understand how you find an inclination to eat at this very time.*

" General," said the King, " what you say is rational ; but such is my confidence in that God that has created me, as He does kings and beggars promiscuously, that I am inclined to believe He never withdraws His wonted look of goodness totally from His creatures, and never deprives them intirely of such portion of subsistence as He has allotted them at first ; and although my venerable parents have taken abundant care to bring me up with that delicacy and that grandeur, in which I chanced to be born, yet I remember still that it was in the designs of that same Providence that I should pass some part of my life in the garb of a Fakir and beggar, in the same manner that it was in its decrees that I should afterwards be put at once and in an hour's time, in possession of an Empire, without the secret springs of that revolution having been ever suspected either by me or by any others. Praises be to its goodness ! that He has put it in my power to quit a crown without regret. There is no pleasure but which I have enjoyed to satiety ; no wish but which I have seen filled to my heart's content. Corors have come to my hands and have been spent with ease ; I have made presents by lacs at a time ; and now that in punition of some improper actions of which I have been guilty in my days of dominion, Providence has thought proper to withdraw out of my hands the royal sceptre with which it had once entrusted me, I still acknowledge its goodness in this particular, that it has not transferred my crown to any but to a Mussulman Monarch, and that too only after I had enjoyed it as much time as was probably allotted to my life."

After having said so much, he took his meal quietly, and then having arrayed himself in a magnificent dress, he sent for his favorite horse, and he mounted, surrounded by the Imperial Generals, who seemed only a part of the royal cortege that followed him in a long train. At the gate of the city, he found the Imperial Prince, Azem-shah, who had pitched a tent just to land in it, and to wait for his coming ; and to him he presented the chaplet of pearls, which he then wore hanging at his neck, requesting him to accept it as his nezur(158). The Prince spoke

Singular conversation between him and the Imperial Generals.

(158) The Nezur is not always presented in money; but it is at all times an indispensable token of respect. Even those that do not take it up, never fail to

to him with kindness, condoled with him on this reverse of fortune, and carried him to the Emperor. Such a sight softened even that covetous man's heart. He received him with demonstrations of honor and regard; and after having kept him some days in camp, in which time he appointed him a suitable pension, and a proper quantity of apparel, provisions, and perfumes, to be presented him daily out of the Imperial wardrobe, he sent him to the Fortress of Dö8let-abad, where he was to be confined. After this interview, the Emperor sent Roh-ollah-qhan again in the fortress, with a number of accomptants and other penmen, to take an account of the dethroned King's effects, and of those of his Ministers. Roh-ollah-qhan, on taking possession of the palace, ordered Abdol-rezac, the Larian, to be brought before him. The man was in a swoon, but breathed freely. They took up the four corners of his bed, and laid it down in the Hall of Audience. At this moment Saf-shiken-qhan, thinking to ingratiate himself with the by-standers, exclaimed: "*This is that impure Mahmed-rezac, the Larian. We must cut off his head, and send it to the Emperor; and after that hang it up at the gate.*" Roh-ollah-qhan, on finding that these words had been heard with silence, observed, after some pause, that to cut off, without an express order, the head of a man half-dead, would not prove consonant to that sense of humanity which is inherent in all brave men. And this observation having been received with silence again, R8h-ollah-qhan took a pen, and wrote a note to the Emperor on the man's condition. The Emperor, who had always been an open admirer of his heroical prowess, and a secret approver of his unshaken fidelity, answered the note, by sending two Indian chirurgeons and two European ones, with orders to take the utmost care of him, and to report daily to the presence an account of his condition, and how far they had or had not any hopes of his recovery; and on R8h-ollah-qhan's making his own report, the Monarch answered: "*Had it been Ab8l-hassen's good fortune to have had such another servant, or at least another General, as faithful and as zealous as Abdol-rezac, the conquest of the place would have taken up a great deal more time, and possibly might have become impracticable*

---

signify their acceptance by touching it, be it, as is often the case, a trooper's sabre. Here it appears that the Prince did not dare to signify his acceptance.

"at last." The chirurgeons, being introduced a little after, reported: *That, the man had seventy wounds that required both suture and unguents, besides a number of small others. That one of his eyes was entirely disabled, and although the other did not seem to be materially injured, yet it appeared that it had suffered, and probably would remain without office.* The Emperor, having heard the report attentively, dismissed the chirurgeons, recommending the man to their care, and promising them his favor on that condition. Thirteen days after, they came again and announced, that Abdol-rezac had opened his eye, and spoke some incoherent words; but that his wounds had assumed a favorable appearance, and that there were hopes of his recovering. The Emperor seemed pleased, and a few days after, he sent him a message in these words: "I have forgiven your conduct. Send your eldest son, Abdol-cadyr, to Court, with such of your other children as you shall think most deserving, that I may raise them to dignities, offices, and honors; and let them humble themselves in their father's name, and thank me for having forgiven your conduct, and for my being inclined to promote you to high commands, suitable to your rank." That valorous man, after hearing the message, answered: "I acknowledge His Majesty's goodness for all the kindnesses shewn me; but although this deformed soul of mine is not yet gone out of this mangled body, yet in the condition in which it now chances to be, it is not in the nature of things that life should hold out. Nevertheless, should He that can resuscitate the dead, think proper to exhibit a token of His plenitude of power by restoring life to this body, of what use shall it be then to His Majesty or to me, with both hands and legs disabled? But admitting that I ever shall be able to serve again, a man that owes this flesh and this blood to Ab8l-hassen's nursing and care, cannot consent to serve the Emperor Aoreng-zib."

Noble proceedings of the Emperor towards Abdol-rezac.

The Emperor, on hearing this answer, could not help betraying some displeasure and surprise; but he had the equity to pay many encomiums to his unshaken attachment, and he made him a present of whatever effects should have remained in his house, or might be recovered from the sack and plunder.

As to those of Ab8l-hassen's, after all that had been made away, and after all that furniture that had been taken possession

Riches  
found in  
Golconda.

of, they were found to amount to no less than sixty-eight lacs and fifty-one thousand H8ns (Pagodas) in gold, and two corors and fifty-three thousand rupees in silver, which two sums were computed to amount to six corors, eighty lacs and ten thousand Rupees. This was exclusive of the gold and silver furniture, and of jewels and gems. From this calculation of Hashem-ally-qhan-qhafi's it appears that the H8n in his time was valued at seven rupees, and, of course, that it must have been of a higher standard, and of greater weight than the H8ns of our days. All this was entered in the Imperial books for one Arib, fifteen corors and sixteen lacs of dams(159). It was on this occasion that a nobleman of the Court, then called Multekyt-qhan, and since known under the title of Mir-qhan, but whose original name was Mir-Abdol-kerim, and who had been present at all these transactions, complimented the Emperor with a relation of this siege, under the title of *Conquest of Golconda*: an elegant book, in which he pays the highest encomiums to that country, to the strength of that fortress, and to the beauty of Haider-abad, its Capital. And, in fact, the excellence of the air and water of that tract of gound, the beauty of its women, and the fertility and high product of its lands, are such as cannot be properly described.

The Fortress of Golconda was originally enclosed with a mud wall by the ancestors of the Rajah Dë8-räi, the last of its Hindoo Princes; and it was from that Prince that the Mussulman Princes of the House of Behemen took it. This family becoming extinct in process of time, in the person of Sultan-Mahm8d-Behemen, the kingdom was parcelled out by a variety of pretenders, amongst which one Soltan C8ly, *alias* C8t8b-el-Mulk, one of the Lords of the court, kept possession of the Fortress of Golconda. This Soltan-C8ly, from that time, became the Sovereign of that country, and built in stone the mud wall rised by Dë8-räi. His descendants, all surnamed C8t8b-el-mulk(160), as well as himself, being firmly established

(159) The accounts of the Exchequer of Hindostan are kept in Dams, a copper piece of forty to a Rupee. An Arib is a hundred Corors.

(160) These are probably those Princes, called in the Portuguese histories of India, Codamuluco and Mamamaluco, although the latter word looks very much like Nizam-el-mulk.

in that new kingdom of theirs, took pleasure successively in strengthening the fortifications of their new capital. In process of time, the crown devolved to Mahmed-C8ly C8t8b-el-Mulk, who much enlarged his dominions, but fell so much in love with a famous dance-girl, called Bagh-muti, that, at her persuasion, he purchased a great tract of land at two cosses distance from Golconda, and having built a town on that spot, he called it Bagh-nagar from that beloved woman's name. And as she was originally a prostitute, her morals and customs became the fashion in the new town, which abounded with public houses of prostitution, as well as tippling shops. In process of time, the morals became so bad in the new city, that its inhabitants acquired a bad character, which is even become proverbial<sup>(161)</sup> all over India. One of the succeeding Princes, informed of the bad renown, and of its origin, ordered the city to be called by the name of Háider-abad, or colony of Háider. But whereas

(161) The Decan being yet a country newly subdued, and full of strongholds, fortresses, and Zemindars, the collection of the revenue is not to be effected but by an army. Hence its Sovereigns are always in a progress from Haider-abad to Aoreng-abad, two Capitals of half a million of souls each, and much better built than the Indian cities. But as all the seraglios and wives are constantly left there, whilst the husbands live in the field for two or three consecutive campaigns ; hence the women of those two cities have fallen under very heavy imputations ; and as most of the cities in India are sarcastically described in short pieces of poetry, the reader will not be displeased to see a specimen of them :—

*Háider-abad, Narvá—Háider-abad, a fine city with a bridge,*

*Hat-me sindica carvá—Where all people are seen with a cup of Sindi (or Toddy) in their hands,*

*Nitche-mati, Spar ch8na—Where the houses are mud within, and lime without,  
Dj8r8 Chinal, Kysum Barva.—And where all wives are whores, and all husbands pimps.*

*Aoreng-abad, cast8ri—A charming place, that Aoreng-abad, where, if you take a house to hire, you have*

*Haveli, Bara ; Bibi, dest8ri.—The lady of the house into the bargain,*

*Panip8t, Carnal, Panip8t and Carnal—Where the boys are catamites at thirteen,—and the girls, whores at twelve.*

*Tira barsca gandia, bara barski chinal.*

*Barr neito Barra,—Bar, or if you will, Barra, where jack-asses are excellent, and men are jack-asses.*

*Gad-ha Bahadyr, admi, gad-a—Jack-asses. Bar is a town in the neighbourhood of Delhi, inhabited by Seyds, brave, but of little understanding; so that they say in proverb, *Barca-ahmac*, a blockhead of Barr ; and, by the bye *Barrthe* is sound uttered by Indians when they want to imitate the braying of an ass.*

Ab8l-hassen, the last of the Kings of that family, seemed a Prince addicted, more than any of them, to all kinds of pleasures and especially to singing and dancing exhibitions, and his antagonist, on the contrary, was pluming himself on his abstinence and morals, and had assumed the cloak of religion, and pretended to a great purity of manners and to the title of saint; hence he christened the city by the name of Djehad-abad, or the Theatre of Sacred War, after having previously taken care to plunder the inhabitants and to ruin their habitations. In fact, he had but two objects in view. The first, to bring in his possessions those treasures in money and jewels which Abool-hassen was reported to have, and which he really had. The second, to ruin and demolish those numerous societies of learned Shyahs, which abounded in that Capital. This city, after Aoreng-zib's death went by the name of Ferghundeh-abad, or the auspicious city, and such was its name in the Imperial books; for it became in vogue by Soltan Muazzem-bahadyr-shah's order, but it did not make fortune. And that capital goes now by no other name than that of Haider-abad.

The Emperor, after this conquest, turned his standards towards Bidja-p8r, where he being informed of Abdol-rezac's recovery, he wrote to the Governor of Haider-abad, commanding him to send that General to Court, after giving him hopes of very kind treatment. The man, hearing of the Emperor's intention, excused himself in a supplique to His Majesty, requesting that his goodness might give him leave to perform his pilgrimage to the house of God(162); from whence he intended to return to his own native(163) town, there to spend his days in praying for his prosperity. The Emperor, shocked at his answer, commanded that he should be sent to camp as prisoner; and

(162) The house of God is the Caaba, or square house, from time immemorial, the object of veneration and pilgrimages of the Arabian, before Mohammed. It is now surrounded by an open area, and then by a vast enclosure in four porticoes, each of which would be a large Mosque by itself. This temple or inclosure is called the Haram, and with the temple of Medina, they are called the Haremén, or the two sacred temples. But the square house within the Haram of Mecca is not called otherwise than Caaba. It must be observed, that when a Mussulman asks leave to make the pilgrimage of Mecca, he cannot be refused, without sin.

(163) Lar, a city in the south of Persia, in which the water, scarce, brackish, and bitter, as it is, gives an admirable temper to sabres.

this order would have been executed, had not Ghazi-eddin-qhan, the Generalissimo, who was now recovered of his wounds, interceded for him, and requested to have him in his custody, which was granted. This General carried him to his quarters, where he gained so much upon his mind by his good manners and attentions, that he engaged him to accept the brevet of four thousand horse, with the effectual command of three thousand. By this winning conduct, the Generalissimo put an end to an altercation that did the Emperor very little honor. For since that Prince had conceived so high an esteem for the man's merit, he ought to have dismissed him to his own country, by making him a present of a large sum of money; else, if he intended absolutely to keep him in his service, he ought to have paid so much regard to his disabled condition as to render him a visit, or have sent to him one of the Princes, his sons, or at least his Generalissimo. In one word, he ought to have used him in such an obliging manner as to disarm his conversion. It would have been time then to have proposed to him some brevets, commands, and dignities, superior to those bestowed on so many of Abool-hassen's servants, as the price and reward of their ingratitude and perfidy; for instance, on Hibrahim-qhan, and on Sheh-nizam. He ought, by raising him to superior dignities and commands, and by paying him a much different and much superior regard, to have evinced to the world how much a spotless fidelity and an unshaken attachment were superior in his estimation to all the advantages procured by perfidy and treason. Such a conduct would have given to his own servants lessons of fidelity and zeal. Whereas, after having promoted the traitors to ranks of seven thousand horse, he contented himself with bestowing four thousand only upon the worthy Abdol-rezac, and these, too, he rather forced upon him by the terrors of severe usage. It was in this same manner, and with as little foresight, that he used so kindly that accursed Afghan, the abominable Melec-djiven, a wretched that owed his life and his very existence to that same Darah-shecoh, whom he conducted to an ignominious death. If it was consonant to politics to avail himself of that treacherous Afghan's perfidy, it would have been found policy at least, after having obtained his ends from him, to imprison him, or to abandon him to all the

neglect and contempt which he deserved. Possibly it would have been proper to have had him executed along with Dara-shecoh, or to have cut off his head as a warning to others, were it but to prove to his own servants that he hated treason, even when he availed himself of its advantages. So far from that, he shewed so much regard to that traitor, as if he had no other aim than that of giving lessons of perfidy and faithlessness. A strange mistake indeed, and a surprising error this ! in his politics and in his conduct !

We might recollect another strange instance of neglect and inattention in his temper, and it is this : That same Saadet-qhan, whom he had sent as envoy to S8ltan Ab8l-hassen, and who had served him so zealously at the very expense of his character as an honest man, and, indeed, at the imminent risk of his life, (when he found means to cheat that Prince out of forty or fifty lacs worth of jewel) that same Saadet-qhan, after the conquest of Golconda, was severely reprimanded, and unworthily disgraced ; and that, too, for no higher crime than that of his having remitted of his zeal in blowing the fire of dissension, that is, by not mentioning some part of Abool-hassen's conduct, which possibly had never come to his knowledge. This man, who had so readily risked his life in his service, was mulcted in his military rank and command, and deprived of a sum of about eighty thousand rupees, which he was now ordered to send to the treasury, but which the Sultan had made him a present of, as he had himself mentioned in his dispatches to the Emperor. This man, who fell into so much disgrace for a whole year, is the man of whom Hashem-aaly-qhan-qhasi, the historian, writes this singular anecdote in his diary : "I was," says he, "in Saadet-qhan's company at the very time when he became entrusted with the custody of the jewels he had sent from Haider-abad. His friends observed to him repeatedly that, as there was not amongst those jewels any note signed by Abool-hassen, of either their weight, colour or respective prices, it was in his power to enrich himself at once by keeping up the number, and substituting a few stones of lesser value." The man declined the expedient, and swore he would be faithful to the very last.

And here I must inform the reader that in citing that historian so often, and in availing myself so much of the matter

afforded by his book, I have only pretended to set in a proper light Soltan Abool-hassen's character. The resignation, firmness, and magnanimity, with which he parted from so high a rank, and so exalted a station, and the calmness of temper, with which he endured so sudden a revolution, and one so capable of unhinging the mind of even a Fakir, and a poor man, (people naturally inured to patience and resignation from habit and principle), deserve the highest admiration. May the merciful God have vouchsafed to forgive and console him ! And, in fact, he wore the robes of sovereignty with as much indifference as a Fakir does his cloak. Nor is it a small token of Divine favour upon him, that his throne chanced to be supported by a servant of such heroical prowess, and so eminent military talents, as his General, Abdol-rezac, whose unshaken attachment and indefatigable zeal became the more conspicuous and admirable, as the besiegers themselves had long ago ceased to entertain any hopes of success and salvation. In a time so discouraging, at the very moment of the places being surprised, to expose one's life so prodigally to succour an ill fated master, and to thirst so ardently after that bitter cup of wounds which death was tendering everywhere : these are exertions that seem to go beyond the power of humanity, and that will at all times challenge the admiration of mankind. After that, let the reader cast an impartial eye on the obstinacy, covetousness, endless artifices, and perpetual double-dealing of Aoreng-zib's conduct ; on his unrelenting vindictive temper, his unsatisfiable ambition, and the public lessons by which he continually encouraged faithlessness, perfidy, and treason, on one hand ; and on the other, let him consider the valuable qualities which shine in Abool-hassen and in Abdol-rezac's characters ; and then let him choose for himself, and determine what he ought to imitate in those two exalted characters, and what to reject, and to execrate in that vile conduct so conspicuous in Aoreng-zib ; for this world, after all, is but transitory, and must pass, and that Prince's punition is doubtless in reserve in the other life. Abool-hassen and Abdol-rezac, with their firmness and magnanimity, are gone ; Aoreng-zib is gone likewise ; and nothing has remained, or will remain, but what the recording page of history has said and will say. And although that Emperor carried his attention and foresight

so far as to forbid the analysts and historians of his time from writing the history of the latter part of his life, nevertheless, his endeavours have been of no avail, and the detail of his viles and infamy has been handed down to the latest posterity. But supposing that such a detail could have remained concealed from its knowledge, how could it escape the scrutinising eye of the Almighty Observer of hearts, or the probe of that Omnipotent Searcher of secrets ? of that Being I say, which knows intuitively the recesses of every one's conduct ?

But let us cease to anticipate the reader's reflections by our own ; and let us return to our own narrative. As the Monarchy of Haider-abad was put an end to in the person of Abool-hassen, who was the last of the C8t8b-shahian's family, it shall not be unacceptable to our readers to hear some further particulars of that unhappy Prince in this place. They shall be amazed to hear how he rose, how he acquired a kingdom, how Providence drew for him from its inexhaustible treasury the sweets of high dignities and the glories of so exalted a rank, with all the happiness attending absolute dominion and length of reign ; and the by-stander's imagination will be confounded on observing how he was, by an event almost unparalleled in history, placed upon the throne of Haider-abad. This is the more proper, as otherwise the lovers of history would have reason to complain, that after having raised their curiosity to a pitch by recounting the singular conversation that passed between the dethroned King and the Generalissimo, conversation in which that Prince spoke mysteriously of his former Fakyr's garb, and of his present Royal attire, I left them to their own surprise and astonishment, without having so much as attempted to afford ease to their feelings by solving the knots of an enigma, so uncommon and so amazing. Abd8llah-c8t8b-shah, who reigned about sixty years, having no son, and God Almighty having given him only three daughters, he bestowed one of them on Séyd Nizam-eddin-ahmed, the Husséinian(164), who was an

---

(164) That is, the Séyd descended from Husséin ; because there are other Séyds descended from his brother, Hassen. This whole account of the king's two daughters, and of his two sons-in-law, looks somewhat romantic to a European, who cannot but wonder to see that two Arabian adventurers, with only a bad cloak upon their backs, and a beard not exempt from vermin, should jump all at once

undoubted Séyd of the illuminated city of Medina, being of the race of that oracle of learning, Emir-yñæt-eddin-mansr, the Shirazian, (whose spirit may God have sanctified!) ; for the number of learned men, produced by that illustrious family, cannot be unknown to those that love history. The most eminent amongst them, are that Prince of philosophers, Emir-sadr-eddin-mohammed-destghi, the Shirazian, and Séyd Mubarec-shah, as well as Mir-asyl-eddin, and Mir-djemal-eddin-muhdess, without mentioning so many others. He was born in the illuminated city of Medina, from whence he came to Shiraz, in Iran, and settled in that theatre of learning. Having acquired an estate and some lands in the territory of that city, he lived with dignity and splendour for a number of years, when he thought proper to return to Hedjaz(165) ; and it is in that country that his son, Séyd aaly-qhan was born. After that he quitted Arabia and went to Hindia, where he took up his abode at Haider-abad, in Decan ; where in time he became the King's son-in-law, as we have already mentioned. This Prince, observing abilities and talents in him, gave him the management of several parts of the administration, and raised him to high dignities and employments. Some years after, there came another illustrious Séyd, from Arabia, a Séyd Soltan, a learned man, who had studied under the former Séyd's father, the learned and venerable Séyd Ahmed. King C8t8b-shah took this Séyd also in favour, raised him to dignities and honours, and betrothed his second daughter to him ; and he seemed to take a pleasure in producing him to the world. Unfortunately a jealousy arose between the two Seyds ; that is, between Séyd Nizam-eddin-ahmed, who was already become the King's son-in-law, and Séyd Soltan, who was designed

Romantik,  
but yet histori-  
cal, account  
of Ab8l-has-  
sen, the last  
King of Hai-  
der-abad.

---

into the King's Palace. But such is the pitch to which the veneration of Indians for all kinds of foreigners, and for Arabian Séyds in particular, can rise at sometimes, that this transaction looks full as strange, as if a Dutch Minister, just landed from the Texel, should at once be admitted into the British King's Palace, and espouse one of his daughters, and then become the principal Peer of the kingdom. But such is India ; and a Persian or Tartar adventurer would have been as much welcomed in the Palace of Haider-abad. Nor are there in India any men artists of their own fortunes, but such foreigners. Nizam-el-mulk was son to a Tartar ; Saadet-qhan and Ab8l-mansoor-qhan were Persians ; but Haider-naic is an exception to the general rule. Although an adventurer, he was Indian born.

(165) That part of Arabia where are seated the cities of *Mecca, the glorious,*  
*and Medina, the illuminated.*

for that honour. Once it happened that the King asked the latter whether he had any knowledge of the ancestors of Sëyd Ahmed? The other answered that he had, and that he was a learned man, son to a learned man, and grandson to a learned man; *which last had been his own master and teacher* (to Sëyd Soltan). As this answer, which after all was nothing but truth, was pronounced with a certain air, it made an impression on Sëyd Ahmed, who from that moment became averse to him; and this aversion was kept up by a number of tale-tellers, who took care to furnish fresh fuel to it every day. Insomuch that they became enemies to each other; and their enmity was upon the increase, when preparations commenced for the nuptials of the late King's second daughter, already betrothed. Sëyd Soltan espoused the Princess; and rejoicing and feasting became universal all over the city, where every market, as well as every door and gate, exhibited a scene of festivity and decoration, that surprised and charmed the beholder. On the very night when Sëyd Soltan was to be carried to his bride(166), another offensive expression dropped from his mouth, and an improper action took place; which so displeased Sëyd Ahmed, that he went to C8t8b-Shah, and with a solemn oath told him that if the marriage should take place, he would himself quit his Court, from which he hoped he would dismiss him.—He had at the same time taken measures for quitting Haider-abad. In vain did the old King, in vain did his Ministers endeavour to pacify him, and to bring the two Sëyds to terms of decency and mutual forbearance; their efforts proved fruitless, and their endeavours, abortive. But as Seyd-ahmed's influence had taken root this

---

(166) The bridegroom is carried by a number of friends within the apartment of the women, which are all concealed, save a certain number of old women, who lead the way to an illuminated room into which all the women peep from behind their covers, and where the bride sits on a Mesned, the head inclined forwards, with the face, shoulders, and shape, intirely covered by her veil (which is always transparent, but folded double). The bridegroom being made to sit close to her, is presented with a looking-glass over which they have laid a Koran, and a pair of scissors. Both the young folks, being made to kiss the Koran, have an opportunity of looking at each other in the glass. After this ceremony, the bridegroom presents his bride with the *M8 declai*, or shew-face, (a quantity of gold coin) and just raising her veil, gets a peep at her charms, and then withdraws immediately to the assembly-room, being re-conducted thither by those that had stopped behind the door of the hall.

longwhile both at Court and within the sanctuary, and C8t8b-shah's principal consort had openly espoused his concerns, together with all the ladies of the Seraglio, and all the King's private friends were also on his side, the old King was confounded at this general opposition, and found himself at a loss how to act, even after consulting his Ministers and favourites. At last they fell upon this expedient, that the Princess should be bestowed, not on the man to whom she had been betrothed, and who had come to carry her to his home, but on Abool-hassen, a young nobleman, very nearly related to the King on the mother's side. But this Abool-hassen having from his tenderest youth conceived such an inclination for the company of Fakirs, as to assume their very garb and manners, and this new kind of life having communicated to his words and actions a strange levity which had rendered him disagreeable to the King, he had fallen into a total neglect; nor could he be prevailed to drop so much as a look upon his person. Hence the young man finding no resource in the world, still more strongly addicted himself to that strange way of life; and he was now living under the roof of a Fakir called Seyd-radj8, whom he had chosen for his saint and director, and whose lessons he was actually hearing, when the King's messengers after much search found him out, and announced to him his good fortune. They carried him to a bath, dressed him with elegance and magnificence, put a crown of pearl upon his head, and mounting him upon a superb horse, that carried a saddle enriched with jewel-work, enamelled, they carried him to the Palace, where the bride, the costly presents, and the high dignities that had been prepared for Seyd Soltan, were at once bestowed upon him; insomuch that the festivity and nuptials, that had commenced in another's name, were continued in his. The bride was put in his hands; he was acknowledged Prince of the blood; and from that moment fortune became so favourable, that he rose in estimation, and was thought equal to any dignity and any office in the State. But by this time Seyd Ahmed was become so proud of his own high extraction, as well as of his having espoused the eldest Princess, and he had become so haughty and overbearing, as to make no account of any Lords of the Court, nor of any Grandees of the State, save Seyd Morteza who drew his pedigree from the Kings of

He proves  
disagreeable  
to the King.

Mazenderan(167), and was become a man of consequence in the kingdoms of Decan, and one of the principal Commanders of the troops. Such haughty pretensions naturally estranged all the Ministers from him ; but above all they lost him the hearts of the ladies of the seraglio, by whose assistance he had always carried his point. No wonder then, if all the hearts should naturally turn towards Abool-hassen, now Soltan Abool-hassen, who, without familiarising himself with any one, behaved with so much condescension and so much sweetness of temper to all, that people were quite at their ease in his company, where they were always treated with a brotherly civility, and an easy politeness. Soltan C8t8b-shah dying at this very time, and dissensions arising at Court, as well as disputes in the city about a successor to the Crown, Seyd Ahmed shewed himself in arms in the palace, with a number of troops, ready to oppose any pretender ; and on the other hand the Soltana Zer-o-mah(168), the principal consort, shewed herself with a sabre in her hand, at the head of a number of Tartarian and Habeshinian female slaves, armed. The Grandees of the Kingdom meanwhile disagreeing likewise, tumult and war were making their appearance in every part of the city ; and God knows how far the flames of civil dissension might have spread, had not Seyd Morteza, the principal General of the troops, vigorously interposed. By his mediation, and the able management of his two agents, Madina and Enganna, two brother Brahmans, who had his confidence, all the Grandees and Ministers agreed to confer the Crown on Soltan Abool-hassen, and to reject Seyd Ahmed, who was vanquished and driven away. But the tumults and dissensions did not end here. Seyd Morteza, proud of his eminent station, and still more so of his having been so instrumental in placing Abdool-hassen on the throne, had assumed an air of independence in all his discourses and actions, which the new King bore for some time, but which at last had become intolerable ; and the fire of a civil war was going to blaze again, when Madina, the Brahman, who had now become the new King's confidant and Prime Minister,

(167) A province of Iran or Persia, south of the Caspian Sea. It is surrounded on three sides by high mountains and thick *masy* forests, whence it has received the name of *Mas-enderan* in Persian.

(168) The Princess, sun and moon.

found means to gain over to his side all the Commanders and officers who had hitherto supported Séyd Morteza ; so that this General, finding himself at once deprived of both wings and feathers, thought proper to submit to controul. These important services made such an impression on the new King, that he bestowed the casket of the Vezirship on Madina, and entrusted his brother, Euganna, with the details and offices which his elder brother had left vacant by his promotion. And it is from thence that must be dated that Minister's influence, and his master's gratitude. And it is here that ends our history.

Let us now pour our acknowledgments on God Almighty's threshold, for his having vouchsafed on us His divine assistance ; and let us praise His goodness endlessly, for his having condescended to make use of so humble and so inadequate an instrument, as this penman (who is the last of men), to array this third volume in the robes of style and arrangement, and to attire it with the ornament of completion and finishing, in such a manner as to promise these fragile leaves the permanency which was hoped for, and intended for them. Praise be to Him ! that in the composition of this Work, exactitude and impartiality have been, to the best of my abilities, objects of scrupulous attention ; and that they afford the satisfaction to think that the labour attending such a performance, has been brought to a proper end. I rely so far on the goodness of that Omnipotent Being, as to hope that He shall vouchsafe to irradiate these humble leaves in such a manner, as shall render them capable of illumining the hearts, and of enlightening the understandings, of the ruling men of this age, by giving to the inadequate and feeble ink of this humblest of men all the qualities of a Collyrium, capable of deterging the eyes of men of knowledge. May His beneficence bestow such an efficacy, and such a currency, on the paradisical maxims, sprinkled on every part of this composition, as may render them wholesome and savoury, like those waters said to flow from Heaven, and equally salutary and palatable to the governing part of mankind ! May they serve to cleanse their eyes of those immondices, so capable to cloud their lustre, and so proper to keep them closed with the pride of sloth, and slumbering with the intoxicating fumes of power and dominion ! For the utmost wish of my ambition, and the direct scope of my

steering, have been to reclaim and to awaken those slothful men, who, forgetful of their own selves, seem to slumber their lives away in the lap of inerty and the blindness of ignorance. Whenever that end is accomplished, I shall presume that this book, teeming with blemishes as it is, has been the means of attracting the Divine forgiveness upon my unworthy self. In one word, I firmly hope from the Supreme goodness, that in the verification of the holy oracle, "*My mercy goes faster than my anger,*" and in compliance with that holy sentence, "*He is truth itself,*" He shall vouchsafe to convert the fond hope of so sinful a being into completion and reality; for "*He is truth itself, and the Supreme Goodness.*"

This has been written by the weak and decayed hand of the poorest of those that beg at the gate of the All-bountiful God, that is, by Gh8lam-hussēin, the Hussēnian, son to Seyd Hedāiet-aaly-qhan, grandson to Séyd Aalim-ollah, great-grandson to Seyd Faiz-ollah, the Tebatebā, (on whom all may grace and mercy rest for ever!) through the merits of the Prince of Prophets, and the intercession of the last of Messengers, Mohammed, the seal of envoys, as well as through those of his pure and innocent offspring (on whom all may grace and mercy rest for ever till the day of the last Judgment!). And the work has been finished the third day of the second week of that blessed month of Ramazan, which comes the seventh in order, in the series that compose the ninety-fifth year of the twelfth century that has elapsed since the auspicious and prophetic flight of that noble being,—on whom be grace and praise for ever!

*Copied by the Rebellious, the sinful,  
Mohammed-bassäon, the Hossēnian.*

QUID VETAT...? ————— Horace.

*Calcutta, this 15th May, 1790.**To WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, Esquire.*

SIR,—

The conversation of yesternight was too extraordinary and too interesting, not to deserve some observations on my part. However, as adding new observations would only swell a letter into the size of a pamphlet, I shall content myself with putting in order, such remarks as you have made yourself, and such answers as I then gave. That I am firmly resolved never to commence a polemic correspondence on the merits and demerits of the *Seir-el-Mutaqherin*, is certain these four years, and the resolution is unalterably fixed. If then I deviate in this single instance from such a resolution, it is not precisely to shew, that a defence might be set up, but barely to submit to the animadversion of a friend, who has observed this morning, that such a disregard to the opinion of the public (of which to-day you seem to be the organ) would be deemed disrespectful and supercilious. It is then out of a respectful regard to that same public, I now stand up to speak.

You have asked me several times, Sir, whether in printing that History of India, I had not in view my own emolument, either in point of credit, or in point of pecuniary profit? (such was, at least, the purport of several of your questions). And my answer has been yesternight, what it is to-day, what it has been in print about eighteen months ago(1), and what it was so early as four years ago. And it is as follows:—"I never have "had in view either personal credit, or pecuniary benefit. Had "I had the last, I should not have commenced printing the "work in December, 1788, with only eight subscribers; nor "would I to-day persist in forcing all obstacles, with no more "than fifty-two; out of which number some will not pay, and "some are gone to Europe; in all twelve persons. Now even "the fifty-two Subscribers, or the two hundred Mohurs, would "not repay so much as one-third of the expense of printing;

---

(1) See the printed Advertisement of the Proposals, under date of 22d December, 1788, printed by Cooper.

" for my personal labour is out of the question." This, Sir, is my answer as to pecuniary views ; nor will it be less short and less peremptory with regard to personal credit. My only real aim, at first, was to bring up a great deal of information, which I conceived might greatly conduce to clear Governor Hastings's character. I had a notion of selecting and translating only such parts as concerned him directly, or indirectly, But as such a selection was liable to cavils, and still more to envy and detraction, I thought it better to translate and publish the whole. And although I rightly conjectured that such a publication even in England(2), would cost me no less than two thousand rupees, and in India, no less than three or four, I thought it incumbent upon my gratitude to overlook the expense of three or four hundred pounds, for supporting the character of a man whom I highly respected, and who, moreover, had put ten or twelve thousand in my pocket. This resolution once taken firmly, the printing it in India, that is, the adding some more money to the intended sum of four thousand, became a consideration that did not stop me a moment. These pecuniary matters naturally bring to mind your proposal of *putting a stop to the printing of the remainder of my History, and of recommending it to another person for dressing it in better language.* Sir, the first part of your proposal is impossible, at least it is out of my power. The second is totally repugnant to the natural sincerity of my heart, say, to the natural pride of my mind. Please to attend to the following detail :—

	Rs. Ans.
The third Volume has cost me full, as paid to Mr. Upjohn	... 1,600 4
For the second, actually printing by Mr. Cooper, and two other Printers, I have already paid	... ... ... ... 1,700 0
And the first, which is now finishing, has already cost me <i>two</i> <i>thousand Rupees</i> , advanced to Mr. White, and will take up a thousand more	... ... ... ... 3,000 0
Add 200 Rs. paid to Book-binders, and 200 more to Tran- scribers	... ... ... ... 400 0
Add 2,000 Rupees more for 2700 folio pages copied in India at 4 Annas each, but sent to England by triplicate, 7400 pages, besides the freight	... ... ... ...

(2) It was hurried thither so early as January, 1787, through the channel of Colonel Allan Macpherson.

Add paper, &c., &c., with an infinity of small articles, which cannot be enumerated here, but which form a considerable item ; and this recapitulation will put it in your power to determine whether I can at this period of time recall the books already distributed, or suspend the printing of the two others. But you, or some other person, shall assist me in the wording of the text, and also in procuring subscriptions ; and you adduce in proof of the possibility of your obliging scheme, the extreme easiness with which other works (for instance, Mr. Gladwin's Vocabulary,) have produced a deal of money. I have split, Sir, yesterday that proposal of yours in three parts, and made a distinct answer to each part ; nevertheless, I shall with pleasure refresh your memory on the three articles.

By the expression, *wording of the text*, do you mean your taking the whole work down, and hoisting up a new one of your own, or of your friend's, from the same materials ? Or do you only intend to correct here and there errors of grammar and syntax, and bad arrangement ? If the first, Sir, the work would become your own to all intents and purposes, and surely you would not have me put my name to it. Such an imposition would be quite out of character in me. But take care, Sir, such a wording, as you mean, would detract from the genuineness of the translation, and, of course, from the veracity and integrity of the intended evidence. But possibly you mean only to correct some imperfections which you think relative to grammar, syntax, or bad language ; and I must answer as to the first, that with a language so very easy, and so very unincumbered with rules(3) as the English, it would be a shame indeed in a man of some sense and knowledge, to need any one's corrections in either syntax or grammar, after thirty years' acquaintance with both. Those two articles are in every foreigner's power, and, let me tell you, are in general more attended to by Englishmen in France, and by a parity of reason, by foreigners amongst the English, than by the natives themselves. I inform you, Sir, that there may be no less than *two thousand* such faults in the first

(3) The French, over and above its being pronounced in a manner quite foreign to the spelling, has an infinity of rules (and which is every way as bad, an infinity of exceptions to these very rules); the Greek and Latin are nearly as troublesome, but the Arabic is quite revolting.

Volume, I say, either faults of grammar, or of syntax, or of punctuation. But do you really believe that above ten or twenty of these can be mine? If you think so, please to do what neither you nor any of those censorious readers of yours have done to this day. On finding an error of any kind, look at the errata, and you shall discover that the error has been taken up, and corrected; I mean those in grammar and syntax; for, those of punctuation would be numberless, and there would be no end of them. Moreover, on giving me a call, you shall find that every one of those corrections is in my hand.

The question then arises, why, whilst so many works are printed tolerably well, (and only tolerably, for there is none perfect, not even the Gazette, and not even the weekly advertisements) my work happens to be teeming with faults? The answer is easy; and to my sorrow, I have had full time, and full opportunities to become master of it. The printers, like all mankind, will attend rather to their own concerns, happen what it will of those of others. No work within my knowledge in Calcutta has been tolerably printed, but where the author himself was the owner of the printing office or a partner; or where the printer had purchased the propriety of the work; or at least where he had been put upon his guard, by being made a sharer in the fate of the book to be printed, that is, by being promised for his trouble one-half of the author's profits. For such and the like undertakings, the printers give themselves pains; and it is for these, and also for Gazettes, advertisements, and such daily lucrative jobs, that they reserve the two or three good hands that may be in a printing office(4). As to such wretches as we, who pay and must pay them by the sheet, (be the printing what it will,) it is the least of their cares whether it be printed tolerably ill, or quite ill. Our work is made over to the apprentices; and on your scribbling very angry notes, they are carelessly answered, or even thrown by with the most supercilious inattention. But if you have been so ill advised as to pay the printers beforehand, as is my case, then rest assured that the

---

(4) There are but four printing offices at Calcutta, amongst which one only is worked by Europeans, that of Cooper's. The three others, although inspected by an European, are worked by natives, who print in a printing office, just as they copy in a Counting House, without understanding the language.

very least object of attention in their office, is your work. But I have been told by some persons, for instance, by the elegant translator of Sonnerat's Voyages (and he was concerned with the Printer), that I must correct a proof-sheet over and over two and three, and even four times, until it is printed perfect, and that I must send it back at each time, until it is *returned printed to my mind*. Well, Sir, all that has been done for sometime. And what was the consequence of that obstinacy on my part? That the Printer, who used to send me a proof-sheet or eight pages every Friday, and as much on Saturday, in order to have those sixteen pages printed off on Sunday morning, finding that the same sheet, by being returned over and over, encroached on the intended Saturday and Sunday, has sent me only *one sheet a week*; and as my corrections engrossed the two days and-a-half, set apart for me in the week, so the two sheets, that were to be furnished this week, were reduced to only one; and this one, after having consumed the Friday and Saturday of this week, encroached also on the two like days of the next week. Thus, Sir, the printer, who was under an engagement to me to print and complete the two first volumes on or before the 24th of December last, had not delivered by that time so much as one-half of the first volume; and he, who had obliged himself under a penalty, and for a pecuniary addition to the accustomed price, to deliver me the third volume on the 20th September, did not deliver it sooner than the 20th January, and that too after having made me sign his bill. But I ought to have prosecuted him. Well, Sir, if I file a bill against him by that 20th September, the law-suit is likely to last a couple of years at least; (for Lawyers have sworn to find not only flaws but even capital nullities in whatever bonds or papers they have not drawn themselves); and meanwhile, my work, which I intended to send to England in that very September, or at least in October following, or at least in November, or at least in December, or as a last resource, in January; my work, I say, shall meanwhile remain at stand. But still at the end of that January, I went to law; and to render the charges as moderate as possible, I drew up my own case in one page, argued it in two more, added four pages of vouchers and copies of letters, and carried the whole to an Attorney, desiring him to *present*

*the whole as it was to M.* such a one, an advocate, for his opinion. In a few days more I thought it full as well to prosecute another printer, sensible that joining the two causes would have a tendency towards diminishing the charges. Unfortunately this intended prosecution having taken vent, the printer lessened my usual allowance of oats, and sent for excuse that he could not go on with the work, as his foreman and two apprentices had run away with a vast quantity of types. Fain I was then to suspend the prosecution, and at last to drop it entirely. In a couple of months more, I received two Attorney's bills of 192 and 178 Rs., in all 370 Rs. I ran to my Attorney's.  
 " Pray, Sir, why that charge of 20 Rs. for drawing up my case ?  
 " and why that other of 45 for copying my papers ? I brought  
 " them ready copied ; and as to my case, I am not satisfied  
 " with your statement of it. It is clearer by all means in my  
 " own narrative——(a great pause here), at least it must be  
 " so, I conceive (did I add, after some recollection) ; for as you  
 " may, for ought I know, have twenty such cases to attend to,  
 " and I have but this one, there is no wonder in my having better  
 " seized the Gordian knot in a subject of which I am a thorough  
 " master." Answer : *Sir, your case was defective in law-terms ; and as to your papers, they were not legible enough.* "Sir, I will  
 " submit it to any man, whether this is not a fair hand, and that  
 " of your clerk's a very ordinary one." Answer : *May——be, ——but it is two small——and an advocate will not pore over such a minute hand.*

In short, after a little dissertation, I paid the bill ; and guessing at the lengths to which I would have been carried for instituting a law-suit, by the expenses I was put to for *not instituting it*, I went home, and took for devise : "*Poor author, bear and forbear* ; this is thy fate. In M8r-sh8d-abad, in order to gain a law-suit, you must pay six per cent. of it to Government, and fifty " or sixty per cent. more to Moonshies and Divans. At Calcutta, " Moonshies and Divans are out of question ; but still the fifty " per cent. must be paid to Lawyers. *Bear then and forbear.*"

After this little digression upon prosecuting printers, (and the penalty I had subjected them to was only a sum of 400, which I am told now, is a mere trifle to a printer) ; after such an excursion, I come back to my subject.

To what purpose is it to correct a proof-sheet now sent me for the second time by a printer ? In the first, which I had returned, I had corrected six omissions, four Solecisms, and sixteen faults more of all sorts. It is brought back to me in the afternoon, and I find a dozen of faults corrected, seven or eight preserved, and a novel crop of half a dozen new ones. What to do ? correct again ; and an angry note is added at the bottom of the page. But by this time it is five o'clock. The printer must take his evening ride. He gives the proof to the apprentice, who, instead of attending to all the corrections, minds only the less troublesome ones, and then sends the table to the press, where a hundred sheets are printed off in half an hour ; and this is the *work corrected*. I know, not one or ten, or a hundred, but some thousands of such instances. And what, if the printer, despising your quality of a foreigner, thinks that an Englishman *whatever*, has a right to know more of the language than you, and takes the liberty of correcting you, of sneering at your emendations, of substituting his own, and of throwing away without answer some angry notes in which you *inform him, that he is paid for printing what is before him, and not for correcting it* ? For instance, to what purpose is it for me to have written in my manuscript, he *was preposed to that business*. A printer, (but this printer is neither Cooper nor Bruce, who are both scholars) a printer will dash *preposed* and print *proposed*; and when you tell him that those two words are quite different, and that the latter etymologically signifies, *brought forward, or mentioned*, whereas the other signifies, *put over or put in office*, the man will resolutely answer you, that *preposed* may be English, but not English of Europe, only English of Bengal. Look at the page 414, line 27, and page 422, line 2, of the third volume. What for to have written in the original, *obsolete* ? The apprentice takes it to be *absolute*. You correct. He does not mind it, or mistakes it again ; and the next morning you receive 200 sheets, all saddled with an *absolute*. Page 355, line 8, Volume 3. What for to have originally written *surrendered* it immediately, page 185, line 11, Volume 3 ? and what for to have corrected it in the proof ? The 200 sheets bear it *surrounded* immediately. What for to have written very legibly *alambicated*, and to have corrected at

two different times. The printer writes you that the word is not English, and that it ought to be *amplificated*. He promises to print as you direct, and yet leaves the proof to the apprentice, who carelessly makes it over to another, who, uninformed of the dispute, sends you 200 sheets all with an *amplificated*. Volume 3, page 270, line 43. Write *hit* his fancy ; correct over and over; to no purpose. It is Bengalee English. The Europe English is as follows : *taken his fancy*. Volume 3, page 278, line 10. Write *desperate* ten times over ; all your sheets are saddled with a *desperate*. Volume 3, page 338, line 24. The manuscript has it, *and that he has no Companion*; the book has, *and he has no Companion*. Vol. 3, line 20, page 348. What for to have dashed in my *manuscript* the word, of *her clan*, for that of *her desert*? The apprentice prints over and over *her desert clan*. Vol. 3, page 361, line 30. The manuscript has *shaken off inferiority and submission*. The book 3 has p. 365, line 13, *shaken of his inferiority and submission*.

MS. the officiant	B. 3d. Page 10 Line 30	<i>the efficient</i>
„ to hate the man	„ „ „ 32	„ 26 <i>to take the man</i>
„ bearing his name	„ „ „ 46	„ 30 <i>hearing his name</i>
„ setting up	„ „ „ 49	„ 45 <i>sitting up</i>
„ Crapule	„ „ „ 76	„ 15 <i>Crapulence</i>
„ into a despondency	„ „ „ 96	„ 13 <i>into despondence</i>
„ Dependance	„ „ „ 128	„ 16 <i>Dependence</i>
„ and who augured <del>no</del> good	„ „ „ 131	„ 6 and who acquired no good
„ Either their person or those jewels,	„ 134	„ 19 <i>Either person or jewels</i>
„ B. M. de Bury Major of <i>place</i> at Pondicherry	„ „ „ 152	„ 25 M. de Bury <i>Major of a place at Pondicherry.</i>

You are tired, Sir, and so am I; but here I must end, as the French have it, *by the bon morceau*.

Here is the text, (the Printer has the manuscript ; let it be produced) : "Arrived at the Capital (Shudjah-ed-do8la) he expect- "ed a benefit from the very change of air; but his wound "becoming worse and worse, *and by this time affecting his "health considerably*, it was discovered now that it had de- "generated into a Cancer, &c., &c.

Whether these four lines be English in Idiom, *you*, as an *Englishman*, have a right to determine, although the opinion of even a semi-Englishman, who reads and scribbles these thirty

years past, ought not altogether to go for nothing. I say *you*, as an Englishman, may possibly object that they are not English in idiom. Be it so; but I need no man's assistance to maintain that they are English in grammar, and syntax. Nevertheless, the printer thought them English of Bengal; and here is his English of Europe:—

“Arrived at that Capital, he expected a benefit from the change “of air; but his wound becoming worse and worse, *and by this time had considerably affected his health*, it was discovered that “it had degenerated into a cancer.” Shocked at such an enormous liberty, I wrote a note of complaint, backed it by a very angry one, called on the printer myself, spoke angrily, corrected again. It was five o'clock; this hour is not to be passed by. He made the proof over to his apprentice, who all this while had given evident signs of approbation to his master by his smiles, cast of features, *and* shrugging up of the shoulders—and the next morning my excellency was saluted with full two hundred, *and by this time had considerably affected his health*. *Ex uno disce omnes.* What to think of the single Latin verse?

*Quod tibi vis, jubeas alūs, hæc Summula legis.*

Finding it very ill printed, I wrote it in square letters, so that no mistake could be committed; and yet you shall find B. 3, P. 415, line 3, *hac summula legis*, everywhere.

From these few specimens, Sir, you may easily form to yourself an idea of the enormous difficulties and endless disgusts I had to surmount, in order to go through so very voluminous a work. Had I known then how to manage with printers, that is, how to excite their cupidity, by concerning them in the undertaking, and above all, how to make the concern their own, the work would have been printed less ill at least, and full six months sooner.

Remains, Sir, the third article of your proposal: your proposing to fill up a new subscription, and your animadverting to the sum of eleven thousand Rupees, which M. Gladwin's Vocabulary has produced, and to the scanty reception which my own work has met with from the public. The comparison is very far from being fair; and I hope, you shall agree in opinion with me, as soon as you shall have attended to a few considerations. A Vocabulary, no more than a Dictionary, is not a book

of a nature to be sought for by readers in general. Both are to be recurred to occasionally, sometimes, once in six months ; but neither of them can be read throughout, and of course both are utterly incapable of captivating the attention, *id est* of producing encomiums, and of opening purses. From M. Gladwin's Vocabulary in particular (and I have it) you must exclude four-fifths of the common herd of readers ; you must exclude women, and all those that read for amusement ; you must exclude all those that have neither inclination to, nor an insight in, oriental learning. To learned men, indeed, it will prove of much assistance, but only occasionally. If then so very small a work has produced so large a sum, it was because the author's reputation, as an author, and a man of letters, is formed, known, and established ; whereas no one knows anything of me. Secondly because he is an Englishman, a man high in station, and of course has many friends ; whereas I am next to nobody, and my station is immediately after nothing. Lastly because a tender regard was paid to his circumstances. Else, Sir, I maintain that in this country, any Vocabulary whatever, has no chance at all for so much as the thousandth part of the sum of eleven thousand Rupees. We may consider, Sir W. J—s, his ingenious Grammar for the Persian language, as a kind of Vocabulary ; and yet who ever thought of it ? There it lies these many years in the shops, filling up whole shelves at eight annas the volume, although the very binding must have cost two or three Rupees. And as to Mr. Gilchrist, although he could muster no less than a hundred and fifty subscribers, I am firmly of opinion, that had not Government assisted him both by taking two hundred of his books, and by freeing the rest of postage, his case would have been full as bad as my own(5).

Let us have done then with subscriptions, as well as with errors of syntax and grammar. The more so with the latter, as no one of my readers, on stumbling upon an error of the kind, or upon a solecism, has so much as once thought proper to look

---

(5) The most difficult, and in my opinion the best translation extant in Calcutta, is Mr. Gladwin's second volume, where he treats of Gentoo Metaphysics ; and yet, although the set sold for 120 rupees, that is, for four times more than my work, and he had the countenance of Government, and the wishes of a great number of friends, ask him whether, had not the Directors taken two hundred of his books, he had any chance of making money by his publication ?

at the end of the book, and to try whether it was a fault of the printer's or not ? Let us draw a veil upon this singular and very novel doubt, whether a man of some knowledge and some sense, who has in times of yore wrote very esteemed French, which he had practised only for twelve years, is so very likely to ignore the English, which he is practising these thirty.

But I am likewise reproached for having written in bad language, and for having dared to write an history, notwithstanding the physical impossibility under which a foreigner labours, and must labour, on that head ; and all this is said by people that might have reflected on the many foreigners, who are become authors in foreign languages. Bolingbroke is an author, and an elegant one in French ; Voltaire wrote Sonnets to Queen Caroline, and also some other pieces, which were never suspected to be written by a foreigner. The Frenchman Menage is an author, and an elegant Poet, in Italian. Lord Cartent wrote excellent Spanish. Lord Cobham wrote in German and French at Vienna, and gave in 1730 the first notions of commerce, maritime affairs, and prosperity resulting from manufactures, to the Austrian Council. Barretti, an Italian, has written in English in 1760 ; and an English nobleman, whose name I have forgotten(6), but who fled to Florence in the civil war of 1640, where he became a favourite and a Minister with the Grand Duke, is well known to have written elegantly in Italian verses, as well as in prose. Of late, Lord Chesterfield wrote so amazingly well in French, that one would almost say that he wrote it still better than the English. The Abbé Vinkleman, a German, wrote enthusiastically and poetically in Italian of the antiquities of Rome, and of Italy ; and he is reckoned amongst the Classics. Lastly, notwithstanding the slight thrown upon them by Barretti of late, Milton's *Penseroso* and his *Allegro* always had the esteem of the Italians themselves. I could carry the catalogue much further, and tell you of good translations of Pope's *Essay on Man*, made by *German*

---

(6) Arundel of Wardour, a nobleman, different from Arundel of *Trefusis*, which last is a Cornish family. We may add to this, Sir Hieronimo Mengs, a German, and the greatest painter in Europe, who in 1780 wrote in pure Spanish a treatise on painting in general, and on Spanish painters, in particular. It is the best and most elegant work extant on the subject ; and it has been adopted for a classick by the Academy of Madrid. It is translated into English by Dillon.

*noblemen in French verses.* I will not tire you with a longer list ; still less would I meddle with the invidious question of asking what language then I must be acknowledged to write tolerably ; for I am very often a foreigner with the French, and my first section of the Séir-el-Mutaqherin in that language, has cost me an infinite deal of trouble, and at last proved to be full of anglicismes(7) ; and well it might, being translated upon no other original than the English itself. It was only after having got within the current of the French language, that I came back to that first section, and wrote it better in fifteen days at this second time, than I had been able to do it the first time in three months. It is needless then and even invidious to handle such a question. But here is another which does not labour under that inconvenience, although it is akin to it.

There is a man in Calcutta, who, so early as the year 1766, was an author in the English language, say, a scribbler. He wrote a long letter of eight or ten pages to Luke Scrafton, Esq., once resident at the Court of Moorshood-abad, and then Director of the East India Company, a gentleman, who in his dispute with Governor Vansittart, had reproached him for his having given service to a man who was known for being a spy to Mons. de Bussy. This accusation was shewn to be not only groundless, but absurd ; the man having undergone a thorough examination before the Council in 1761, and that examination having produced Governor Vansittart's good will, and that of Mr. Hastings. The letter was printed in London, although anonymously ; and I can assure you that the reviewers said, that it was written with spirit and temper ; nor did Mr. Vansittart and Mr. George Gray, (the latter once of the Council of Calcutta) express themselves in any other terms. *But we have, but your word for that approbation.* Indeed, Sir, you have but that, because at such a distance of time and place, the former is not susceptible of better proof, and because I never

---

(7) As I had then no original of the Séir-el-Mutaqherin, and I was become so accustomed to scribbling as to be at a loss what to do with myself in the long interval of time that elapsed between my sending my English translation to London, and receiving an answer, I betook to the pas-time of making a French translation upon the English one. The beginning cost me an infinite deal of trouble ; and it was but at the second and third section that I worked myself into the current of the French diction.

keep either copies of such letters or originals. Here is then another story :

In 1775 and 1776, that same man chanced to be in correspondence with Colonel Monson from Moorshood-ahad ; a correspondence which did him some wrong in the mind of Governor Hastings, who did not know then that the man was nearly a stranger to that Gentleman, which latter, he did not suspect to be at the bottom of all his correspondence with Mr. Goring. This correspondence contained a variety of matters : "The famine of 1769, and its consequences ; the Rohilla war ; the quantity of cash in Bengal ; the population of the Country ; "the quantity of cash imported by the war ; the quantity monthly imported by that war ; the quantity monthly imported from Banaress." It contained also much extraneous matter. That same man afterwards wrote "a very long letter "on the necessity and even expediency of parting with the "Americans, and securing to Old England, as early as possible, "the Herrng-fishery, Cod-fishery, &c., Whale-fishery, and the "Trade of Coals, four important Articles, that afforded thirty "thousand Seamen, a year to Old England. In the two first of "which, the Americans had a local advantage over the English, "and in the fourth of which, they made up the local disadvantage of greater distance by the local advantage of easier "purchase and cheaper manufacture ; for coals may be had in "Cape Breton and all over Nova Scotia, even at the surface, "but surely at no greater expense than digging five or six feet ! "whereas in Old England, digging for coals, and bringing them "up to the surface, required an immense deal of ingenuity and a "most expensive machinery." This letter contained likewise a variety of new remarks upon America and England respectively.

These two Pamphlets Colonel Monson sent to England, after having declared here, that they considered a subject already trite, under a new point of view. But they were immediately followed by a letter, intituled *State of Europe in 1800*. This also was a novel subject treated in an original manner(8). All three were sent to England, anonymous,

---

(8) I have seen, some years after, a French or an English work on the same subject; and I remember of a French work on the year 2,000. Both might seem to borrow largely from me, but treat the subject in a much more extensive manner.

all three were printed in London with not a single note of emendation, and all three passed for done by an Englishman. The reviewers in giving a list of the new works printed, mentioned them both, without adding a word of encomium or blame, and just as they had mentioned fifty more publications, of which they only indicated the contents and date. This last transaction, Mr. Champain, now at Dacca, is well informed of ; indeed, the author of these three pamphlets never kept a copy of any of these papers, and he had forgot them totally. But the gentleman having chanced to find him in 1779 at a certain Armenian girl's, called Mrs. Drivers, he mentioned the letter on the year 1800, and told him that he knew more of it than was suspected ; *for he had a copy of it.*

The same man in the year 1776, had a considerable different with the Provincial Council of Moorshood-abad, who were guilty towards him of a *glaring injustice* (and this was the expression used by Governor Hastings himself in full Council). In the sequel the man who saw that the public and even the Supreme Council itself swayed by the name and authority of Provincial Council, had greatly mistaken his case, thought it incumbent upon him to set the public to rights ; and he distributed ten copies of a long letter of twenty pages written on the subject. All that I can say about it is, that it turned the tide of popular favor, and produced the gain of his cause. But as it represented the *glaring injustice* in such a manner as rendered the Provincial Council, both odious and ridiculous, and even threw a slur upon some operations of Government itself, the Supreme Council wrote to their substitutes at Moorshood-abad *to let the man alone henceforward*. This letter was read by Sir Elijah Impey ; and the man happening once to be at breakfast with that Magistrate, but at the other end of the table, a Captain of an East Indianaman, who was close to Sir E., asked him whether the man could speak some English ? *Speak some English !* answered the Magistrate in a low voice, but which I overheard ; *he writes it as they do in London, without having ever been in England, and he is a formidable writer in polemics.* The latter phrase was pronounced with a sneer.

I have been obliged, Sir, to run over all that detail, in order to shew you a succession of men of parts, who never have

objected to my English, whether in letters or in a pamphlet ; and also in order to ask how it happens, that this same man in writing a book of history in eighteen sections, that is, in binding together eighteen pamphlets, should have chanced at once to write so very ill, that no less than twenty persons at table(9) have declared that there was no reading two pages of it. Are not all those solecisms, and all those faults of grammar and syntax, owing to the carelessness of the impression ? Or is it necessary that, in a cause which so deeply affects not only his credit, but very deeply his fortune, he should stand up to speak in his own praise, or at least to oppose to the opinion of twenty men, the testimonies of not twenty men, indeed, but of five men of parts, and a nameless one, who think advantageously of the work ? The latter in particular, in writing to a friend at Patna, (and I saw his letter by mere chance) tells him *that it is in good language, and that it does not read like a translation.* Were I to add a few illustrious names, such as General Carnac's, Colonel Murray's, Mr. Chapman's, Mr. M'Kenzie's(10), and several others, Lucan's verse of *Adversas-que Aquilas, et pila minantia pilis,* might find its place here ; and a file of Englishmen might be opposed to a file of Englishmen.

All these people, whether in Europe or in India, never suspected that I wrote quite like a foreigner, (and indeed they soon would have told me so, had they thought it) and it is no less certain that it is only since I have wrote history, that is, since I have thrown away the mask, and given myself for what I was, that I have been taken for a foreigner, and have been thought so greatly defective in language. Let us examine then, whether this be not owing to this incident, that a translation, although ever so excellent, must unavoidably look like a translation, that is, like something foreign. But if this be the case with the Greek and Latin writers, whose ideas, notions, religion, ways of speaking, Gods, terms of war, terms of eloquence and arts and sciences, with a infinity of simple and

(9) At Mr. Browne's, in Chouringhi.

(10) Colonel John Murray is Commissary-General in India, with a seat at the Supreme Council ; the two other Gentlemen are intrusted with offices of importance ; and General Carnac is known for an eminent scholar.

compound words, have been naturalized in the languages of Europe, what must be the case of a translation from the Persian into the English or any other European language, where there is as much diversity in those articles, as there is similarity in the European ones ? Is it not natural enough to suppose, that some anomalies, and some out of the way expressions must unavoidably become the result of that insurmountable diversity ? Is it not natural to suppose, and would it not be generous to think, that were a translation in as fine a language as that of the best English historians, it would unavoidably deviate from the genuineness of the text ?

But is it not mortifying enough that so much beauty of style should be required of an accidental writer, who at most is but a semi-Englishman, and who unquestionably had views of his own, quite foreign to the vanity of turning author ? Is it not exceedingly hard that so much exactness should be required of a man under such a singular predicament, at a time that England, England as it is, cannot boast of a single tolerable historian earlier than the times that have produced the Humes, the Littletons, the Robertsons, the Gibons, and the Junius, &c. ? Go through all the writers of Henry the Eighth's reign, and through all those of the times of Queen Elizabeth, and of James the first ; they are become obsolete, will you say. Indeed, they are so as to the words, and arrangement, and the rounding of the periods(11), but they are so also as to the style. Look throughout all that immensity of writings published in King Charles the First's reign by the Parliament and by its adversaries ; you shall find solid reasoning, but conveyed in coarse, homespun, indeed in clownish language ; and I cannot except one single writing from that censure, save the answers penned by King Charles himself, or by his Secretary, Lord Falkland. Throughout that witty reign of Charles the Second, I see good language enough in some authors, and flowing verses in Waller, but very harsh writings every elsewhere, and some solecisms and faults of grammar even in Acts of Parliament. (Look at

(11) It is needless to insist that the Bible, as translated by Cranmer and the others, is a classical book to this day. Classical it is, because religion has received no alteration from that day, and because the very turn of the phrase has been insensibly transfused into the English language.

Blackstone's Commentaries). But would any man choose to write as did Hobbes and Harrington ? (I except Alegernoон Sydney). And would an historian take the long winded, although very sensible, periods of Clarendon's for his model ? Would the unequal and inexact Burnet, or the very sensible, but now and then scurrilous Swift, be taken for a pattern in these days in that kind of writing ? And shall Harte's History of Charles the Twelfth be reputed legible, although supported by no less a man than a Chesterfield ? No, indeed, no. So long as people shall have such books as those that have done so much honor to England—books in which the English have taken the lead of all Europe these forty years, without being equalled by any nation of the world to this day—no one will think of those early authors for his models. Even Dryden, the great Dryden, of whom Pope himself used to say with regret, *Virgilium tantum vidi*; even Dryden is strangely neglected in an infinity of places ; and excepted in his ode to St. Cæcilia, he seems inferior to Pope almost everywhere.

It is then in a nation which has soared but of late, that they expect a soaring style, and a soaring performance in a man who never pretended to be a writer, who has translated only from the Persian, and who has translated from it, barely because his purpose could not have been answered any otherwise.

Let us then drop that invidious subject. Independently of that, it is also highly disagreeable ; the more so, as I have lately seen two pages of a translation of the Sëir-el-Mutagherin, made in India, and of twelve made in Europe; and although it would be deemed vanity to talk here of my own, yet, as I cannot after all divest my ownself of consciousness, I shall only desire you to remember the saying of a certain Earl of Warwick of old, called the King-maker, who was a tall, stout man, and an old warrior. A friend of his was whispering into his ear, that a certain man, highly discontented, had thoughts of assassinating him. At that very moment the man chanced to pass by in the street. The Earl, who only cast a look at him, said immediately : *This man will never kill me.* These two translators, then, will never kill me ; and I appeal, Sir, to your own future knowledge in five years hence.

So positive a prediction in my own behalf is very daring,

will you say. Sir, it is ; but still it is out of my power to divest myself of consciousness. However, here is another prediction, still stronger, and full as precise. Please, Sir, to mark my words. You have, (and undoubtedly you spoke both by echo and by report, as well as upon your own judgment), you have spoken slightly of my large pamphlet of 90 pages, and have added that a Governor-General had nothing to do with a quarrel of mine with Mahmed-reza-qhan, or in other words, that such a pamphlet would never kill any man. I inform you, Sir, full two years beforehand, that it will make a great deal of noise, and will kill some one at least. Mark my words ; mark the boldness and precision of the prediction. It is none of those predictions that have made so much noise in the world, and which being written in the most imperfect, and most uncouth, and most barbarous language in the world, (a language that does not discriminate betwixt the perfect and future tenses, so that the predictions written in it may be translated rightly in a past tense as well as in a future one). It is in English I make that prediction, in one of the most perfect languages that ever existed<sup>(12)</sup>: The pamphlet *infallibly shall kill some body*. But when ? When jaded myself with scribbling, and oppressed by age, as well as become averse to motion, I shall coldly look at the corpse without being inclined to get up, and stoop down, to strip it of some of its clothes.

But since the subject of that pamphlet is come of itself at the end of my pen, and we differ so widely as to its matter and future fate, and indeed, as to its very intent and purport, allow me, Sir, to set you to rights on those two last heads, which upon a cursory view, you have doubtless misconceived.

You say that a Governor-General has nothing to do with my quarrel with Mahmed-reza-qhan. This being so bold an assertion, I shall oppose it by one full as bold : *He has*. A Governor-General is not only the Company's tax-gatherer, and its man-killer, he is also its Supreme Magistrate, the man that *sees that justice is rendered to every one*. At this rate, Sir, the King of England, who is the tax-gatherer born of the nation, and its General-in-Chief, as well as its high Admiral,

---

(12) I suspect it to be full as energetic, but even clearer, than the Greek, which one would call the most perfect language that was ever spoken by man.

should have nothing to do with the little quarrels about *meums* and *tuums*, that are rising daily amongst the meanest subjects ; and yet, he presides virtually there in civil matters, for instance, at the Court of Common Pleas, as he does at the King's Bench, in criminal ones. Nor is the Chancellor in his Court of Equity any thing else but the King's representative and substitute. A Governor-General is then by station *obliged* to attend to the redress of the meanest subject. But what if this injury, glaring and ruinous as it may be to the latter, involves in his case all subjects whatever(13) ? And what, if the very narrative of that case supposes, that there is not much personal exception, *alias* injustice, in that man's case ; as that case of his, shocking as it looks, is no more than that of all those refractory men, who absolutely intend and pretend to carry a cause, not by paying down a consideration of fifty, or sixty per cent., but by dint of right, and by dint of argument ? What if the Civil Court of Justice at M8rsh8d-abad proves to be exactly under the same predicament ? And at a time when every month brings forth some new regulation for the army, (an army flushed by twenty years' victories, and fashioned by twenty years' discipline ; an army that will fight very well, whether some little regulation should take place or not ) will no Governor-General think his duty deeply concerned in proposing some alterations in the mode of distributing justice to the subject ? Will he not attend to such a daily perversion of justice ? Then no *taxes are due to him* ; no *obedience is due to his commands*. Who says so ? And who is there preaching sedition and anarchy ? It is, Sir, the author of the Sëir-el-Mutaqherin, who tells you in his second Volume, *that submission in the subject, and an intense religious regard to distributive justice in the Ruler, are terms correlative ; and that the one cannot exist, where the other ceases to be.*

You are surprised at such a language in an Asiatic ; but here is a great deal more. The same author tells you (and his

---

(13) Reckoning eight millions of souls throughout Great Britain, it becomes a question whether there may be a hundred men amongst them of importance or of criminality enough to be liable to a seizure of papers, as was Wilke's ; and yet the whole nation rose as one man in his case. It is not so with my own. Every man in Bengal, and the lowest, more than all, is liable to be fleeced out of his ground, or at least, to be ransomed for it.

words have been printed in Italics, to render them more prominent) " that the *apathy* of the English (has the Persian such a " word ? It has. Look at the original) ; that the apathy of the " English in whatever concerns the natives, and their innate " indifference for whatever is not war or politics, that is, them- " selves, is the most discouraging (*id cst*, the most revolting) " circumstance in the world. He———." But there would be no end to citations of the kind. Look at the second Volume, and attend, not only to what it says openly, but to what it insinuates, and to what conclusions it *points out silently with the finger*. Observe, Sir, that all these complaints about the bad justice to be had in Bengal, and the apathy and carelessness of the English Government on that head, are no novel subject. The author wrote so early as fourteen years ago. To these hints which he gives you about the state of the civil and criminal justices in Bengal twelve or fourteen years ago, join the many shocking cases mentioned, and authenticated beyond doubt in Bolts, his India tracts (cases on which the most eminent Lawyers in England have given their opinions in vain ; for they have remained unredressed). Add to all that, the case of two Armenians who travelled to England, to obtain redress against Verelst, and who, after obtaining forty-two thousand Rupees principal, eight thousand Rupees costs, and four thousand Rupees damages, were, nevertheless, completely ruined by a voyage and sojourn, that took up eleven years. Attend to this, that the same complaints ushered by Bolts, and by so many Englishmen in 1766, and continued by our author throughout the period of fourteen years, are repeated to-day by a man who prints himself, and appeals to records. Take into your account that so many glaring injustices have been heaped, not only with a great deal of ease, but also with much sneering and much contumely upon a man, who could speak and write for himself, and who always thought that the English Government *seldom failed* to afford redress, when applied to. Attend to all that put together, and then say with me, *what then must be, must have been all this while, and must infallibly be henceforward, the case of those millions of mouthless wretches, who, through ignorance and prejudice, having imbibed the most unworthy notions of the English, both as a nation and as individuals, really think that their whole Government*

*amounts to nothing better than a perpetual scene of sack and plunder, the links whereof ascend regularly from the lowest individual to the highest station ?* Put all these considerations together, attend to the constant succession of the same wrongs, and the same complaints for a series of no less than six and twenty years, and conclude then, that the English Government in this country *labours under a radical defect*, which nothing will extirpate, but a new modelling of the Courts of Justice, and a severe punishment of delinquency.

You will, I see that plainly, oppose to such a picture, the flourishing cultivation of the country, and the flourishing state of the Revenue. I admit both in a great degree. But you must admit on your side, that the country was at all times as much cultivated as to-day, if not a great deal more<sup>(14)</sup>; that about a Coror a year arises from branches of Revenue, either unknown to the former Government, or kept on the lowest footing (for instance, Saltpetre, Opium, and Salt); and I have seen Salt in 1756 at 34, and it was in 1780 at 105 in Calcutta; whereas it has been of late at 250 and 380). You must admit that the Revenues are now collected with a vigor and precision unknown to the Hindostany Government. You must admit that notwithstanding that inattention and that laxity imputed to that Government, and notwithstanding that the country was almost annually ravaged by some army or other, and that

---

(14) The proof is irrefragable. Aali-verdi-qhan with much fewer taxes, and much lower duties, received and spent an income fifty per cent. greater than is gathered by the English. It is not to musty registers that we must recur, but to facts, and reasoning; for instance, it is certain that the Navara (or fleet to be built at Dacca) had no more than eighty villages or forty thousand Rupees allowed to its expenses; nor was more borne upon the Books, in which the old style had become etiquette; and it is no less certain, that those villages under Aali-verdi-qhan yielded three lacks notoriously; and so of other articles. It is certain also, that when Mir-cassem-qhan had brought his Government to bear, the country was so well cultivated, that we have seen in Calcutta sixty seers of Wheat for a Rupee, seventy-five of Rice, twenty of Oii, and eight of Ghee; and all that, mind it, whilst the country had four or five times more current cash than it can pretend to in these days. Lastly we may remember that P8raniah, which does not clear now seven lacs a year, yielded then fifty, with a great deal of ease. And where is the proof of all that in the Seir-el-Mutatherin, where a man who lived as a friend, and as a Minister with the Governor of this last country, tells you that at his death, which happened the seventh year of that man's government, he (the Minister,) found in the treasury about a coror in cash, and full half as much in other effects?

one full third of it, and that two the very best, was constantly under contribution to an enemy, yet that this Government realised a great deal more than the English Government; and what proves irrefragably that the country was incomparably more flourishing, the very individuals, as collectors of Revenue, or indeed as merchants, accumulated amazing fortunes. Has now a Collector or Fodjar of Baghalpoor opportunities of making up a fortune of a Coror in fourteen years, as has done Ata-ollah-qhan in the Séir-el-Mutqherin? Has one private man, with no other income than the Sáyrat of Moorshoodabad, that is, the duties other than the land-tax; has he any means of making one Coror in twelve years? This man is Hadji-ahmed. Will a Jagatseat now, after having been plundered by the Marhattas of full two Corors in *Arcot rupees* only, give to Government the next sixth months' bills of exchange for fifty, sixty, and a hundred lacs, payable at sight? Look for all that, and for a great deal more, in the Séir-el-Mutqherin. So far from that, Jagatseat has not been able to pay, but by instalments, a bill of one hundred and forty thousand rupees in 1787. Do you see a single house raised now throughout all Dacca, Patna, and Moorshoodabad, but by the dependants of the English, or by those of the two Navvabs, or by Djessaret-qhan's family, or Shitab-ray's family? (And all these are dependants of the English). And of what are made these new houses? Of bricks taken from tenements going to ruins. Do you see throughout these cities, and likewise throughout Malda, P8raniah and H8gly, anything but houses moulder away, cottages of mud and straw raised in the halls of former houses, and a picture of wretchedness and desolation stalking forth everywhere? Do those cities contain one single merchant, not a European or an Armenian, worth fifty thousand rupees? Not one. I know them all. No; nor one Banker capable to afford a draught of fifty thousand rupees. Do you hear to-day of any single individual venturing upon making those expensive wharfs and quays, which we admire to-day throughout those cities?

Let then the English look to themselves. With masters the most enlightened in the world, with an administration equitable and full of lenity after all, and with a Government vigorous and attentive, that has kept public enemies and ravagers out of these

countries these twenty-six years past, how does it happen that their cities bear such marks of desolation, and increasing wretchedness ?

Let us bolt out the answer; (*fiat-justitia: ruat cælum*). It is this : because the civil and criminal distribution of justice is managed in such a manner, that security of person is doubtful, and personal property infinitely more insecure ; because no less than twenty enlightened Englishmen, sitting at table, have unanimously uttered this blasphemy : *What business has a Governor-General with Mustepha's quarrel with Mahmed-reza-ghan?* that is, in other words, *what business have Supreme Magistrates with a close inspection into the manner of distributing justice to individuals? and why should they care about procuring them full redress?*

Because it appears by Bolts, his tracts, written six and twenty years ago (tracts uncontradicted to this day), and also by the historian of the Seir-el-Mutaqherin's eternal complaints these full fourteen years, and lastly by a pamphlet written this year, (and all these form a chain, highly disgraceful), that the maxim : *We are come to make our fortune in India, and will make it some way or other,* is much adopted amongst the individuals of this nation ; and that its very Rulers say, at least by their silence and apathy, the very same sentence adapted to their peculiar stations : *We are come in India to gather taxes, kill people, and make conquests,——and——and——and——care little about all the rest.* What ? Gentlemen, a man innocent, and moreover an industrious subject, is despoiled of a property amounting to fifteen hundred pounds sterling, besides receiving several other enormous wrongs. He comes to the fountain-head for redress, and your Rulers tell him : *What is it to us whether you are ruined or not by our Government ?* What ? no redress at all to be obtained in Bengal ? And what would your travellers say, had such an event happened at Algiers, in Turkey, or in China ? What ? that boasted Government of yours admits not of a redress, affords it not, is not susceptible of it ?

*The candle, where the wick is yet burning, will soon catch fire again,* says the author of the History of India. You have been, Sir, and so has been, I suppose, the people of England,

much edified by the accounts, repeatedly sent thither of the satisfaction enjoyed by all ranks of people under the English Government, and especially of their zeal in making feux-de-joyes for the recovery of the King of England's health.—Chimeras, all that ! None but the Armenians were sincere in those demonstrations; not are they out of Calcutta without severe complaints against the remissness of Government, in judicial matters, &c., &c. This is the general complaint all over the country ; and to my sorrow, I find it has discontented all minds, and alienated all hearts. All hearts ! *Can that be true?* Look at it yourself, and for that purpose remember two facts irrefragable, a very modern one, and a very old one. The first is this : If ever an European was beloved in India, it must have been Hastings, and if ever a man had a chance of rendering the English Government tolerable at least, if not acceptable to the natives, it must have been Hastings ; and yet, behold ! hardly is this man supposed killed<sup>(15)</sup>, than *all, all* Sir, (it is the very word) *all* think of rising on the English. Our Zemindars stand up, keep correspondences with Chéyt-sing ; our Sipahis talk irreverently of their masters, and desert in shoals ; the very old Begums of Fáiz-abad raise their drooping heads ; and Middleton and Colonel Martin are obliged to barricade their quarters, and to place cannon ; in one word, the country proves unanimously ripe for a revolution (these being the very words used by the Supreme Council to the Board of Directors). Let us now look up to the other fact. Transport yourself in imagination into that period of years that have elapsed between 1555 and 1570. Rise in the air, and behold the cities and towns of Munster and Osnabrück in Germany. Basle in Switzerland, Antwerp and Mechlin in the Netherlands, Stirling and Perth in Scotland (I omit hundreds of others) ; all these towns to a man were zealous Romanists these hundreds of years past. They were so yesterday ; yesterday they had beheld with a savage exaltation, a poor Jew burned to ashes, (no, roasted alive, first) for the heinous crime of having procured a consecrated host, and sacrificed it on Easter-day, by stabbing it with

---

(15) He was universally reported to have been killed, in attempting to escape out of Banaress ; and men sent expresses, reported at M8rsh8d-abad, that they had seen his head and right hand hanging at Bidjaigur, the fortress of Cheyt-sing's.

a knife, ( although Jews have ceased to have bloody sacrifices these thousands of years past ) from which wounds *plenty of blood had flowed*<sup>(16)</sup>—*the blood of Christ*, the only begotten son of God Almighty, which son is himself *God Almighty*. The Priest from whom the host had been stolen, deposes in behalf of the fact, with twenty men more; twenty honest Christians more depose their having been peeping at the Jew, whilst he gave the stab; and a hundred more depose their having seen the blood on the floor. The Jew is seized, placed on the highest church steeple, chained to a stake, and *roasted slowly*, to the mighty exultation of thousands of people, *who pride* on their having assisted at such a spectacle. All these, to a *man*, were zealous Romanists to that very hour, *as far as ten o'clock at night; as far as eleven; as far as twelve; as far as one in the morning.*—It is now two o'clock—hark—what an horrid noise!—what screams!—Good God! is the town on fire?—No. It is only the multitude of yesterday, which is totally altered; they plunder the churches of their riches, beat and abuse those Priests and Monks (whose sleeves they had been kissing two hours ago, and whom they now call shavelings), pull down and break to pieces all those wooden Saints, that had performed miracles yesterday, and throw down and trample under foot whole chalices filled with *consecrated hosts*, those *tremendous hosts* that contained two hours ago in flesh and boold a man that had suffered two thousand years ago, and now passed for no less than *God Almighty himsel'f*. Nor is there amongst that multitude, that now tramples on them, and who two hours ago firmly believed, that a wafer as big as a shilling could shed blood in torrents; nor is there one single individual, afraid of having trampled on flesh and blood and bones.

The two facts are now brought within your recollection. Compare then the two events together, and draw your own

(16) If ever an absurd accusation was set up, it must have been this one, so often punished in Jews. For before a Jew should give a stab to an host, and buy it for that purpose, he must of all necessity, first of all, believe, that a certain countryman of his, that has suffered two thousand years ago at Jerusalem, is alive here; that he, a man five feet high, is alive in every one of those wafers, not one of which looks bigger or thicker than a shilling. Such and the like accusations never failed to be set up against Jews by powerful men, as they proved the shortest and safest way for cancelling the debts they constantly owed to that ill fated people.

conclusions. Only let me ask you this plain question : Do you believe that those men became Protestants at once, in the interval which elapsed between one o'clock and two o'clock in the morning ? Rest assured that they must have been long ago so, and were kept down only by the irrefragable argument of *fagot* and *fire*, id est *bayonets* and *field-pieces*. Another irrefragable fact occurs to my mind, and it is a very melancholy one. All the letters of Admiral Hughes in 1780, of General Cootes, of the Council of Madras, all the private letters, as well as all the public ones, dwell constantly on this melancholy fact, " that from Ganjam " to Cape Comorin there was not a native, but proved disaffected " to the English, &c., &c., so that no intelligence could be had " from any of them ; or if any at all, it was always a *suggested* " *one*. What? after forty years' acquaintance, the English had not acquired a single well-wisher in a country of 250 leages in length ? Then there must be, there is, some radical defect lurking under the English Government. What is it ? But all this is an excursion from my subject, which was not my pamphlet on the Courts of justices of Moorshood-abad, but my History of India.

This History of India happens to be criticised even as to the title it bears, and so it may ; for it does not bear that which I approve. It appears by the rough draught of my first translation in December 1786, that the title was *Review of Modern Times*. This title, however, was dashed some months after, and I wrote above it, *Amusements of Posterity* ; and it was the title it bore when in December 1788, I gave the first section of it to Mr. Cooper, the printer. But the printer having shewn it to a Gentleman skilled in oriental languages, (Major K.), the latter dashed the *Amusements of Posterity*, and substituted *Review of Modern Times*. Four days after, having called on the printer, I objected to the alteration, gave my reasons for it, dashed the obnoxious words, and re-established the former title ; in which I should have persisted, had I not been deterred by a note of Sir Willian Jones, who was of the same opinion with the former Gentleman. Indeed S. W. J's, his animadversion alone would have hushed infallibly my own opinion ; but here it came upon me with the additional weight of two to one ; and the *Review of Modern Times* is now against my opinion become the title of

of that book. And here again the *pila minantia pilis* would recur again; for I have four Englishmen of knowledge, who give their vote for *Amusements of Posterity*, and who approve the arguments I have advanced to support my opinion.

The words *Seir*, I am acquainted with, from my childhood, being born at Constantinople, and it signified then, as it does to-day in *Minenski's* learned Dictionary, not precisely *review*, but *review, or view in walking*: *Deambulatio*, and *Promenade*, says that author. This signification being once established, we may ask now in what sense is the *Promenade* taken, passively or actively? If the latter, then modern times are taking a promenade. If the former, then a *Promenade is taking throughout modern times*. But when an author writes in 1782, mostly about events happened in 1675-80-90 and 1706(17), and but little about those of 1740 and downwards, can he be said to write of modern times, whilst the chain of historical writings by others reach to the very year 1708? And what, if the word *Mutagherin* should signify *modern ones*, if you will, but by all means *those that lag behind*(18)? In that case *Seir-el-Mutagherin* would signify *promenade or review made by those that lag behind*, and of course, *amusements of posterity*; and this would be not a literal translate, but *an adequate one*. Suffer me, Sir, to add six words more to this very long letter.

Before I take my leave of this subject, I cannot help remembering a remark which you have echoed from your friends about the sixteen lines in the author's preface, and which I had the candour to acknowledge for being S. W. J. his property. They have remarked on the extreme difference between those sixteen lines, and the rest of the prelace. Pray, Sir, did they think that the whole of that history ought to have been written in that style? and that a plain narrative of facts (called unornamented by the author himself) was to run at the rate of that lofty short-piece, which beginning, like all the Eastern prefaces, by the praises of God, and those of His Messenger, is of course susceptible of the highest pitch of poetical sublimity? Do you think that Sir William Jones, himself, when resuming on the Bench the harangues of two

---

(17) The Emperor Aoreng-zib died in 1706.

(18) The root of the word is *Taaghir*, and even *Teraghi*, which both signify, to delay, tergiverse, lag behind.

sides and balancing the arguments of two parties, would make use of that turn of phrase, or of that pomp of words, which look so admirable in that enchanting piece of his, intituled the *Muse Recalled?* And even admitting that he would, could it be in his power? could his subject rise to that sublimity of thought and that felicity of expression, so conspicuous in that admirable ode of his, probably the best of those written in our century? No. And why? Because the subject itself does not admit that lofty style. I dare say, you agree with me in opinion on this subject; but what shows that every man has his own, is, that a person, who is by no means deficient in either sense or knowledge, had the singularity, on my pointing out to him the propriety of language in that short piece of sixteen lines, to say, that it was *priggish*, and that he *did not like it so much, as the plainness of the rest.*

Now, Sir, if ever so sublime a style as that of Sir William Jones finds detractors, what chance can have mine? Admitting that my work should be so susceptible of a desense, I have neither capacity, nor indeed inclination for a polemic controversy; but as there is now in my house a friend willing enough to enter the lists on that subject, he requests only that those that are so much displeased with that wretched performance of mine, may be pleased to descend to particutars, to point out those obnoxious parts of the translation that have displeased them, and to *join thereto a corresponding translation of their own*, (for this is the only method to investigate the matter to the bottom) then, and then only, will he give his full attendance to every objection provided, says he, and this is the condition *Sine Quânon*, that they pay the printers.

This, Sir, is that man's request, and here is mine. It cannot be expected that, drained as I am, of all my cash, and reduced to extremities (to those, for instance, of selling trinkets plates, and books), I should return the money of those that have purchased sets of me these two months at their own requests; but I shall contrive to return, and am firmly resolved to return, the money of all those, who having inadvertently subscribed several months ago, have thought themselves cheated out of their money; nor is it in any manner necessary, or indeed convenient, that they should return the books, which they have received.

Those books amount to full eight hundred(19); they are already lumber upon my hands, and lumber that encroaches so much upon the dimensions of my habitation, and moreover requires so much care and solicitude, that by keeping those books out of my view, they shall really confer a favour upon me, and render me a service.

This, Sir, is all that I can do, to give satisfaction to my Subscribers, and to make myself easy.

I have forgot, Sir, to answer one of your questions: In how much time has the book been finished printing? In no less than nineteen months. I inform you, that although to expedite the work, I have not carried so strict a hand over the printers, as I might and I ought, and I have moreover distributed of late, the several numbers to four several printers, who of course have been obliged to numerote the pages long after they had been printed; yet for all that, I do not expect to see the last sheets of the work, but by the middle of July next. And this has so disgusted me with printers and books, that make sure of my own resolution, I have thrown into the fire about 600 pages, which were part of an History of Cashmir, which was very curious, and which I had undertaken. Printing in this country requires a young man, and a rich one, and I am neither.

As to what you have heard of my assimilating so many Persian words to English ones, the list I gave, is neither whimsical, nor extravagant, as you have been told. Here it is.

#### LIST of WORDS that are both PERSIAN and ENGLISH.

The List that has been making these two years, is lost; but here is some fragments of it.

#### ENGLISH.

#### PERSIAN.

*Father*, from the Saxon  
Páder, and Fáder.

*Móther*, pronounced Má-  
ther by the English, and Má-  
der by the Saxons.

*Bróther*, pronounced Brà-  
ther by the English, and by  
the Saxons, Bráder.

## ENGLISH.

*Daughter*, pronounced by the Saxons, as it is to-day both by the Scots and by the Persians, *Dáughtér* with a guttural aspiration.

*Sister*, pronounced by the English somewhat like *Sus-ter*.

## PERSIAN.

*Doghtér*.

In some mountainous tracts of Persia, where they speak pure Persian, without any admixture of Arabic, (and the whole Shah-Naméh, that book of one hundred and twenty thousand verses, has but one Arabic word, and it was written so early, as about the year six hundred of the Hedjra, or about 1260 of the Christian Era); in those mountains, I say, it is neither *Hem-shiré* which is an epithet, nor unlike *Com-milk* or *Comilk*, not *Qhàer*, but *Sus*. Little Sister, *Sussec*. My little Sister, *Sussek* ——*i-men*.

*Burden*, (name); to bear, verb.

To *Chaw*.

To *Sip*.

To Stand.

*Burd*, *Burdén*: which signify, he carried: and to carry and bear.

*Chabidén*. Proverb: *T8 Nàn Chabidé*, *8 Coss Gahidé*, *Mí-ghahi*.

*Sipadén*, and *Sipidén*, to fall drop after drop.

*Istadén*. And that anciently it was *Astandén*, may be evinced from Curtius, who says that Darius-Codomanus was an *Astända* of the late King's, that is, as he explains it, one who stood always before the Monarch ready to execute his commands. A

## ENGLISH.

## PERSIAN.

<i>Bearer</i>	<i>Chopdar.</i> To-day that word would be sounded <i>Astadá</i> , or <i>Estadé</i> .
Bird, which a Welsh-man, and a Sommerset-man, would pronounce <i>Pird</i> , just as they pronounce <i>Peard</i> for <i>Beard</i> .	<i>Beríd, Beríd-i-in-naméh</i> , the bearer of this letter; and although use has introduced the Arabick word <i>Hammal</i> for Porter, yet <i>Beríd</i> is also used.
Name	Perid, and also Peri-endeh, contracted into Perendeh. <i>Perid</i> , is Persian for <i>he flew</i> .
To Tame	Nám, name; and also <i>Namidén</i> , to name.
	<i>Tahmidén</i> , which is hardly used by any but by Grooms and Jockeys, but which, like an infinity of other Persian words, has been preserved in India, betwixt which and Persia we perceive so early as four thousand years ago, a constant intercourse, a constant vassalage on the part of the former, with an amazing similarity in language, religious tenets, and worships. <i>Tahmná</i> in India, signifies to stop, appease, and also to be stopped; and that it is still in use in Persia in the same sense it bore thousands of years ago, may be proved by Nadyr-shah's first title, which was <i>Tahm-asp-Céli-qhan</i> , <i>Eguorum Domitor Céli-qhan</i> , and also the <i>Lord Soldier to Tahm-asp</i> , and not <i>Tamas</i> or <i>Tomas-céli-qhan</i> as is written in

## ENGLISH.

## PERSIAN.

so many books ; for the epithet of *horse breaker*, so often given by Homer and Virgil to *Diomedes*, was also much affected by the Persians, who being horse-men born, were much pleased with those same names, which the Greeks made so much use of, and which referred to some love for horses, or to some talent in horsemanship, *Philo-hippus*, alias *Philippus*, *Heges-hippus*, *Archi-hippus*, &c., &c.

Máze

Maz : an intricate winding path through woods and mountains. Hence a large province of Persia, on the Caspian Sea, being beyond a lofty chain of mountains, covered with thick woods, and having been itself a forest cleared for cultivation (as appears by the enormous serpents and that infinity of lions and other wild beasts found anciently, and even now, there), this province of course was called the country within the *Mázes*, or beyond the *Mázes* a name which it bears to this day *Maz-anderan*.

These few words are such as have occurred to me at so short a warning ; but I shall take care occasionally to enlarge the list ; and when it is recollected that the *Saca-sons*, or *Sac-sons* or *Saxons* were no more than a Colony of *Saccas*, who inhabited the northern provinces of Persia,

## ENGLISH

## PERSIAN

upon the Am<sup>8</sup>; that all the Gothick nations emigrated unquestionably from the northern parts of Asia into Europe, with *Odin, Woden, or Goden* at their head; and that a Colony of *Kermanis*, (Is it from that word that comes that of *Germans* and *Caramanians*?) dissatisfied with both their country and government, emigrated from Persia into the northern parts of Europe; when we shall join all these hints together, we shall not be much surprised to find such a number of words to be both *Persian* and *English*. I have once assembled 97 of them.

Shame

Sherm and Sharm.

No

Na.

Hog

*Qhog*; and if this word be often pronounced *Qh8g*, it is because the Persians use the *vaw* for four founds.

Bill

Bill, an instrument made exactly like a bird's bill, and used in the stony soil of Persia to dig the ground with. Hence *Bill-dar*, a Pioneer, pronounced *Bell-der* by the Indians, but written Bill-dar; although the ground being so much softer in India, Pioneers are armed with a kind of Shovel, called *Chapà* in De-can, *Codalî* in Bengal, and *Pâorâ* in Hindostan.

Road

*Rod*, or even *Rood*; because the Persians have no proper

## ENGLISH

## PERSIAN

letter, and in all the oriental languages, vowels are interchangeable. *Rood* signifies the mouth of a river, and also a river.

*Trunk*

*Torunk, Tarank*: a sea Vessel, used in the Gulf of Persia, and called *Taranguine* by Europeans.

And here I conceive that some critic shall stand up, and read to me, or repeat, that whole chapter of Swift's about *Etimons*; and to his sneering I shall answer, not by addressing the critic himself, but by directing my words to Swift. And this would be in the following manner:

SIR,

I acknowledge, that you have brought up a great deal of ingenuity and much machinery to inform us of the *Etimons* of *Pail-upon*: *ease us* (which you make the constituent words of *Peloponesus*), and of *Andrew Mackay*, which you prove to be the original words of *Andromache*, that tall wife of Hector, which your countrymen pronounce *Andromaki*. But, Sir, please to mind that the question is not, what these words may signify to-day in the language of your countrymen, but only what they signified two or three thousand years ago in the country which the Greeks inhabited. Now without any of those engines which you have conjured up for your purpose, it appears plainly, very plainly, both from the *history* and *language* of that country, for instance, of *Peloponesus*, that this Island was called *Pelopónisós* or *Nesús*, the Island of Pelops, just as a certain island in the South Sea, well known to Admiral Anson, is called to this day, *Juán Fernández*. It is true, Sir, that an able man like you, may make these two words to signify a *broken-pate*, or a *crooked leg*, in Irish, or in Albanagh or Erse. But I am sorry for it; for in the language spoken to this day by the inhabitants of that island, those words signify only *Island of Juán Fernández*. In the like manner the tall consort, who in her youth had been, as is the custom of her country, often wrestling with young men, is called not, *Andromaki*, as you found it, but only *Andrō-máqhi*, *the she fighter of men*. Nor did the words,

## ENGLISH

## PERSIAN

*Achilles*, in the language, spoken by that hero and by his countrymen, signify three thousand years ago, any thing more, than what he was well known to be : *the man with thick lips*.

I cannot help adding here some remarks on Etymons in general, against which article numbers of people never fail to have some words of that chapter of Swift's at their finger's ends. What would have not said Swift himself to a man who should have told him that the French word *jour* came from the Latin word *Dies*? Is that possible? Is that probable? Determine yourself those two articles; for my part I know that it is *certain*. For in the lower Empire they had disused the word *Dies*, to make use of that of *Diurnus*, which being pronounced in the Italian and Provencal manner (and this last was then the universal language of the south of Europe) as *Djiurnus* (*Dji8rn8s*) very naturally produced *Giorno* in Italian, and *jor* or *jour* in French, pronounced *Dj8r* by the Southern French. Just as the word *Equus* having been superceded by that of *Caballus* has given birth to *Cavallo* in Italian, *Cavalho* in Spanish, and *Cheval* in French. Can any one find any affinity betwixt the words *Bispo* (Spanish), *Evéque* (French), *Vescovo* (Italian), Bishop (English), and *Busbec*? No; and yet it is indubitable that the latter is Hungarian, and that all the five come from the Greek *Episcopos*. There are two famous words that are pronounced *Shazus Krist* by the Irish, *Ghiéz8* or rather *Khiéz8-kristo* by the Italians, *Dji8s-krést* by the English, and *Fezú-kri* by the French. An Antiquarian would lose scent here; and yet, it is well known that they all come from two ancient words, the first Hebrew, the second, Greek : *Yessá-christós* or rather *Qchristós*. Do you see any brotherhood betwixt the words *Yágo* (Spanish), *Jac* (French), *Djems* (English), *Djiácomo* (Italian), and *Yacomi* (Greek)? And yet rest assured, that they all come from the Hebrew word, *Yacoh*. And so of some hundreds of similar words which I could easily bring forth; but these few are enough.

At the moment of ending this, I recollect three words more Anglo-Persian.

Abode

Abad.

Sowr

Shor.

## ENGLISH

To Sew, &amp;c., &amp;c

## PERSIAN

*S8zen*, and *Sew-sen*, which Persian word is evidently a contractif of the compound *Soo-i-zen* striker or maker of sewing. Now the word *Sooi*, to signify a needle, has been preserved in India, where there is no other term, and where *Sinà*, an evident contractif of the compound *Si8-na* or *Sew-na*, signifies to *Sew* in every shop in Calcutta.

# INDEX.

[N. B.—*In this index the old spelling of proper names has been retained.*]

## A

AALEM-GHIR THE SECOND ; Aziz-eddin, son of the late Emperor Djehander-shah, proclaimed Emperor under the title of, iii, 339. Seized by his Vezir, iii, 366. Treacherously murdered ; his burial, iii, 374-375.

AALY-GOHER. *See* Emperor Shah-aalem.

AALY-HIBRAHIM-QHAN, son of Doctor Mahmed-nassyr, accompanies Aaly-verdy-qhan to Moorshood-abad ; settles there on a pension, ii, 70. Goes to meet Mir-cassem-qhan at Palassy with a numerous and brilliant retinue, ii, 381. His advice to Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 382. Appointed Examiner of Military Accounts, ii, 388. His objections to Mir-cassem-qhan's taking an expedition to Nepal ; his rational advice, ii, 447. Entrusted with the commission of bringing back Gurghin-qhan from Nepal, ii, 448. Success of his commission, ii, 449. His letter to Navab Mir-cassem-qhan ; his objection to the stoppage of a boat destined for Azim-abad Factory ; sent on a commission to Gurghin-qhan, ii, 464-465. Supplicates Mir-cassem-qhan for the release of the English prisoners, ii, 499. Sent with a message to Shudja-ed-dowla ; his discourse with him ; makes a faithful report of his discourse to Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 538-539. His representation to Shudja-ed-dowla on behalf of Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 541. His discourse with Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 544-545. His tents surrounded by Shudja-ed-dowla's troopers ; his effects taken possession of by the latter, ii, 546. His supplique to Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 547. Pays his respects to Shudja-ed-dowla ; his conversation with the latter, ii, 549-550. Hints given by him regarding Mir-cassem-qhan's hidden treasure ; carried to Mya-yssa's quarters, ii, 551-552. His generous offer to Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 568. Accepts the proposals of Radja Beni-bahadyr, ii, 570. Departs for Illah-abad, ii, 576. Retires to Moorshood-abad, ii, 581. Appointed Divan to Navab Mubarec-ed-dowla, iii, 26. Takes up the cause of Mahmed-reza-qhan and effects his release from prison, iii, 68-69. His sober advice rejected by Mahmed-reza-qhan, iii, 80. His breach with Mahmed-reza-qhan, iii, 83. His ruin caused by an intrigue of a court woman, iii, 84-86. His refusal to accept two high offices, iii, 104. Declines the posts offered to him by the Governor, the Navab and Menny-begum, iii, 105.

**AALY-MAHMED-QHAN-ROHILLAH**, son of a Gentoo Ahir, his adoption by an Afghan ; establishes his power in his new dominions ; his rise to the pinnacle of fortune ; his refractoriness, iii, 233-234. His unconditional surrender demanded by Radja Harnund ; surprises the Radja in his camp, iii, 235. His reception of Sholah-poori and her son, Mir-mannoo, sent to negotiate with him ; his dispute about the rents settled ; becomes an independent Prince, iii, 236. Besieged in the fortress of Bun-gur, iii, 237. Surrenders to the Emperor Mahmed-shah, iii, 238.

**AALY-VERDY-QHAN**, *alias* Mirza-mahmed-aaly, his extreme poverty ; follows his parents to Shudja-qhan's court in Oressa ; his eminent qualities, civil and military, i, 275. Rises in favour by his rare genius, i, 276. Appointed Viceroy of Azim-abad ; a grandson is born to him, i, 282. Adopts his grandson, Seradj-ed-dowla, and names him after himself, i, 283. His vigorous administration insures his patron's good will ; executes Abdol-kerim-qhan to serve as an example of insubordination, i, 283-284. Moves Ishac-qhan, of the Imperial Court, for the patent of the Viceroyalty of Bengal, Bahar and Oressa ; promises held out by, in return for the patent, i, 328. Receives the Imperial command to fight Ser-efraz-qhan ; musters his troops under pretence of marching against certain refractory Zemindars, i, 329. Addresses an assembly of Hindu and Mussulman officers who promise to stand by him, i, 330. Discloses to the officers the secret of his expedition ; marches towards Moorshood-abad, i, 331. His strategic entry into the garrison ; his letter to the Viceroy, i, 332. His artful message, i, 334-335. Wounded, i, 339. Takes possession of Moorshood-abad ; his singular speech to Ser-efraz-qhan's mother ; takes his seat in the Mesned of command, i, 340. Viewed with horror and detestation ; wins over everybody by his altered behaviour, i, 341. Invested with new titles and decorations, i, 344. Sends his promised presents to the Emperor ; reviews his army for an expedition to Oressa, i, 347. Sets out for the Oressa expedition, i, 349. Encounters Moorshood-cooly-qhan at the battle of Balisser, i, 352. His victory, i, 353. Marches to Catec to quell a rebellion, i, 365. Defeats Mirza-bakyr, i, 367. His affectionate interview with his son-in-law, Seyd-ahmed-qhan, i, 368. His coolness and indifference to danger, i, 376. Engages the Marhattas in a number of skirmishes, i, 377. His honour wounded by the absurd proposal of the Marhatta General, i, 378. Discontentment among his commanders, i, 379. Promises to remove the grievances of his officers, i, 380. Inclination to defection of the Afghans in his army, i, 381. His critical position, i, 382. Refuses to ransom himself out of the hands of the Marhattas, i, 383. Desertion of his troops ; his visit and touching address to General Mustapha-qhan, i, 384.

Recovers the affection of his Afghan officers, i, 386. Attacked on all sides by the Marhattas, i, 387. Fights his way through the enemy, i, 388. Put to the greatest straits, i, 389. Placed in a serious predicament, i, 390. Interposition of Providence in his behalf; reaches Cutwa, i, 391. Gives up the idea of driving away the enemy in the rains, i, 395. His letter to the Emperor Mahmed-shah; its effect, i, 400-401. Collects troops; constructs a bridge of boats, i, 402. His heavy loss due to breaking down of the bridge of boats; repairs the bridge, i, 403. Severely chastises the Marhattas, i, 404. Returns crowned with glory and success, i, 406. Receives the title of Hessam-el-mulk, i, 407. His visit to Baladji-rao, i, 419. His alliance with Baladji-rao; pursues Ragho-dji, i, 420. Entraps the Marhatta commander, Bhasukur-pandet, i, 431-433. Interviewed by Bhasukur, i, 434. Bhasukur treacherously murdered by his order, i, 435. Annihilates Bhasukur's vast army, i, 436. Compels the Marhattas to evacuate Bengal; returns victorious to his capital, i, 437. Spreads a snare to do away with the overbearing General Mustapha-qhan, i, 440. His war preparations against the General, i, 441. Marches to succour his son-in-law at Azimabad, i, 463. His negotiations with Ragho-dji, i, 464. Recalled to Bengal; his further negotiations with Ragho-dji; his reply to Ragho-dji's proposal, ii, 5-6. At Azimabad; his reception, ii, 7. Mediates in a dispute, ii, 8. Reconciles the disputants; leaves Azimabad and advances, ii, 9. Offers battle to Ragho-dji at Ranie's-reservoir; his victory, ii, 10. Harbours suspicions against two of his Afghan commanders; fresh negotiation with Ragho-dji by the wife of, ii, 11. Pursues the Marhattas through endless difficulties, ii, 12. Arrives at Azimabad; his engagement with Ragho-dji, ii, 13. At Moors-hood-abad, Amani-gundj and Cutwa; his victory at Cutwa, ii, 14. His arrival at Moors-hood-abad; promotions in his army, ii, 15. Discovers indications of treason in the behaviour of the Afghan Generals, Shimshir-qhan and Serder-qhan, ii, 16. Dismisses the Afghan Generals; celebrates the nuptials of Seradj-ed-dowla and Eram-ed-dowla, ii, 17. Directs his attention to the affairs of Oressa; bestowal of appointments by, ii, 23. Combined army of Marhattas and Afghans defeated by the Generals of, i, 24. His unbecoming reception by Ata-ullah-qhan, ii, 25. Rejects Ata-ullah-qhan's petition; visits Mir-djaafar-qhan, ii, 26. Punishment inflicted by, upon Mir-djaafar-qhan, ii, 27. Defeats the Marhattas near Moors-hood-abad; returns to his capital, ii, 28. Encamps at Amani-gundj, ii, 29. Receives news of the sad occurrences at Azimabad; speech delivered by him in an assembly of friends and military officers, ii, 44-45. Raises money and pays his troops; provides against Marhatta incursions, ii, 46. Arrives at Chapaideh; provides for the safety of his capital and marches against the

Afghans, ii, 47. Helped by Seif-qhan with a detachment his unbecoming suspicion, ii, 48. His discovery of the treason of Ata-ollah-qhan ; his arrival at Monghyr ; honours paid to, ii, 49. Marches forward, ii, 50. His advance towards Barr; his success over the Afghans, ii, 52. Disposition of his army at Rani-chock, ii, 53. His steadiness and fortitude, ii, 54. His reply to a joint message from his Generals, ii, 55. His victory over the Afghan and Marhatta army; rescues his daughter and her children from prison, ii, 56. Marches into Azim-abad in military array; his distribution of charity ; sends a letter to his Deputy at Moorshoodabad, ii, 57. Sends for the ladies of the murdered Afghan General ; his honorable treatment of them, ii, 58. His extreme delicacy on their account, ii, 59. His noble sentiments ; a few instances of his benignity of temper, ii, 60-61. Gives way to the entreaties of his wife and Seradj-ed-dowla; declines to fulfil his promise to his nephew, Seyd-ahmed-qhan, ii, 66. Distressed at his nephew's discontent; his address to him; grants his request, ii, 67. Bestowal of appointments upon Seradj-ed-dowla and Radja Djankiram by; quits Azim-abad and takes the road to Bengal ; his lenity to Ata-ollah-qhan, ii, 58. Lands at Bhagaban-golah and arrives at his palace ; his distribution of charities, ii, 69. Carries with him a number of learned men of Azim-abad and settles pensions on them, ii, 70. His conversation with the historian's mother, ii, 71. Rejects invitation from Seif-qhan, ii, 73. Appoints Seyd-ahmed-qhan, Governor of Puraniah ; makes a present of the Fodjday of Hoogly to Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 74. His reply to Faqhr-eddin-hossein-qhan's letter, ii, 75. Encamps at Cutwa to assemble troops ; marches to Burdvan ; Brigade under his General, Bahadyr-aaly-qhan, revolts, ii, 77. Disbands the Brigade, ii, 78. Defeats the Marhattas near Midnipur ; pursues them and encamps at Barah, ii, 79. Loss of his vanguard ; his arrival at the fortress of Bara-bati, ii, 80. His interview with the commanders of the fortress, ii, 81. Besieges and takes possession of Bara-bati, ii, 82. Appoints Sheh-abdol-subhan Deputy at Catec, ii, 83. Makes his way to Moorshood-abad through innumerable difficulties, ii, 84. Receives news of the defeat of his Deputy at Catec ; arrives at Cutwa, at Motty-djii ; takes possession of Faqhr-eddin-hossein-qhan's immense riches, ii, 85. Meditates upon driving the Marhattas from his dominions, ii, 86. At Mehr-pur, at Cutwa, at Burdvan and Midnipur ; sends Seradj-ed-dowla at the head of an army at Balisser to oppose Mir-habib, ii, 87. His extreme fondness for Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 88. False muster in the Bengal army brought to his knowledge ; a reward given to the informants by him, ii, 89. Gets intelligence of the rapid marches of the Marhattas to Moorshood-abad ; decamps from Midnipur and comes to Burdvan, ii, 90. Strange behaviour of the guide in his pursuit of the

Marhattas ; marches towards Midnipur, ii, 91. His desire of parting Seradj-ed-dowla from Mehdy-nessar-qhan, ii, 92. Passes the rainy season in his old cantonments in Midnipur, ii, 93. Elopement of Seradj-ed-dowla brought to the knowledge of, ii, 94. Effect of the elopement upon ; sets out for Moorshood-abad and then for Azim-abad ; his affectionate letter to Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 95. Another letter of his, full of tender expressions, ii, 96-97. Arrives at Barr and learns all about Seradj-ed-dowlah ; his loving message to him, ii, 105. His doating fondness for Seradj-ed-dowlah ; recovers him, ii, 106. Sets out for Moorshood-abad with Seradj-ed-dowla ; falls ill ; his recovery, ii, 107. Orders distribution of charity on his recovery ; his letters to Radja Dooloobram and Mir-djafer-qhan, ii, 108. Marches to Midnipur ; forces the Marhattas to retreat, ii, 110. Consents to a treaty of peace with the Marhattas, ii, 111. Terms of the treaty ; turns his views towards the ease of his subjects, ii, 112-113. Lavishes honors and titles upon the infant son of late Ecram-ed-dowla, ii, 120. Instigated by his wife to sanction the murders of Hossein-cooly-qhan and Haider-aaly-qhan ; his answer to her, ii, 123. Goes to Radji-mahal on pretence of a hunting party, ii, 124. Returns to his capital, ii, 126. Falls sick of dropsy, ii, 152. His prediction about Seradj-ed-dowla ; his death, ii, 156. His private life, ii, 157-161. His eminent qualities, ii, 162. Singular instances of his prudence and foresight, ii, 163-164. Some account of the learned or pious men who lived in his court and dominions, ii, 166-185.

**AAZEM-SHAH**, second son of the Emperor Aoreng-zib, ascends the throne, i, 3. His defeat and death at the battle of Agra (Ecber-abad), i, 11. Appointed to the command of Bidjapur expedition ; his misunderstanding with his brother, Sultan Muazzem, iv, 174. His malicious proceedings, against Sultan Muazzem, iv, 175. His activity during the war ; martial attitude of his consort, Djani-begum, iv, 176. Evidence in support of his malicious attack upon Sultan Muazzem, iv, 178.

**ABDOL-AALY-QHAN**, advice given to, by his head boatman, ii, 40. Sent to prison ; condemned to death, ii, 41. His pardon through the intercession of Shah-sadc, ii, 42. Disgraced and in misery, ii, 70. His ill-success at the Imperial Court at Shahdjezan-abad ; settles at Benares, ii, 145. Comes to Azim-abad in search of employment ; ordered by Mir-cassem-qhan to return to Benares, ii, 419. Provided with money by Mir-djafer-qhan, ii, 520.

**ABDOL-AHED-QHAN**, contemplates to demolish Nedjef-qhan's power and influence ; designs to attack and subdue the Syks, iv, 112. Shamefully defeated by the Syks, iv, 113. His property confiscated ; put into prison, iv, 114.

**ABDOL-NEBI-QHAN**, appointed to succeed Shah-mahmed-

- maasoom, late Deputy Governor of Catec ; raised to honors ; short early history of, i, 406.
- ABDOL-RESHID-QHAN**, an Afghan, stabs Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, Governor of Azimabad, without success, ii, 36. Murders the Governor, ii, 37.
- ABDOL-RESOOL-QHAN**, Governor of Oressa, his desertion, ii, 2.
- ABDOL-REZAC**. *See* Mustapha-qhan.
- ABDOL-SEMED-QHAN**, Viceroy of Lahore, pays his respects to Emperor Mahmed-shah, i, 203. His death, i, 295.
- ABDOL-VEHHAB-QHAN**, quits Bhagalpur, his residence, with his family ; visits his brother, Hedaiet-aaly-qhan, ii, 309. Deprived of his family and baggage ; his family restored, ii, 314. Blown off at the mouth of a gun by order of Mir-djafer-qhan, ii, 347.
- ABDOLLAH-QHAN**, Governor of Bengal, espouses the cause of Feroh-syur, i, 48. His gallantry and victory, i, 55. His military grade and new title ; raised to the high office of Supreme Minister, i, 58. His passion for fine women and addiction to all sorts of pleasures, i, 66. His severe answer to Emperor Feroh-syur on the latter expressing concern at Daood-qhan's death ; dissension between him and the Emperor ; fortifies his quarter and raises new troops, i, 97-98. Reconciled to the Emperor, i, 119. His enlistment of troops, i, 120. His military policy, i, 121. Takes possession of the Imperial citadel ; appropriates its treasures and beauties ; absence of cordiality between him and his brother, Hossein-aaly-qhan, i, 142. Places on the throne a rival monarch, i, 186. Acquires partisans and raises a revolution, i, 187-189. His overthrow and imprisonment, i, 197. Poisoned, i, 249.
- ABDOLLAH-QHAN**, an Afghan General, remains faithful to the King of Haiderabad while others desert ; deserts subsequently, iv, 204.
- ABOOL-CASSEM, DR**, his excellent qualifications ; his death, ii, 180.
- ABOOL-HASSEN, SULTAN**, King of Haiderabad, receives a messenger from Emperor Aoreng-zib ; presents him with some of his famous diamonds ; his curious answer to the messenger, iv, 167-168. Orders his General, Hibrahim-qhan, to oppose the Imperial army ; engages the Imperial army in several fierce encounters during the seige of his capital, iv, 180. Nearly defeats the Imperial army, iv, 181. His army forced to retreat by the interposition of Providence ; renewed charge by his vanquished army, iv, 182. Bold answer of his warlike Generals to a message, iv, 184. His Generals propose a combat between a number of officers of the two armies ; defection of his General Hibrahim-qhan ; flies to the fortress of Golconda, iv, 187. Horrible scenes in his capital, iv, 188. Restored to his dominions under an agreement, iv, 189. Pressed for payment of money as required by the terms of agreement ;

pledges his jewels pending discharge of the debts, iv, 192. His fortress of Golconda threatened with a siege ; his message to Saadet-qhan, iv, 193. His respectful letter to Emperor Aoreng-zib, iv, 196. His crimes set forth in a manifesto published by Aoreng-zib, iv, 197. Prepares for self-defence, iv, 198. Applies to Sultan Muazzem to intercede on his behalf, iv, 199. Vigorous defence of Golconda by the officers of ; his Generals debauched by Aoreng-zib, iv, 203. Defection of his principal officers, iv, 204. His magnanimous treatment of the prisoners of war ; his message to the Emperor, iv, 207. His fortress of Golconda betrayed and taken possession of, iv, 215. His fearless behaviour, iv, 217. His singular conversation with the Imperial Generals ; his interview with Prince Aazem-shah, iv, 219. Carried to Aoreng-zib as a prisoner and received with honour, iv, 220. His character reviewed in comparision with that of Aoreng-zib, iv., 227. Romantic but historical account of the last King of Haider-abad, iv, 228-233.

**ABOOL-MANSOOR-QHAN**, son-in-law and successor to Saadet-qhan, sent by the Emperor Mahmed-shah to succour Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 401. His application to Emir-qhan for the fortress of Chennar ; provided with the patent of Governor of Chennar, i, 409. Marches to Azimabad, i, 410. Reaches Azimabad ; his overbearing behaviour, i, 411-412. Quits Azimabad ; proceeds to his own country, i, 413. Invited to appear at the Imperial Court ; consults Emir-qhan on the matter, iii, 222. Departs for the Imperial Court at the head of a formidable retinue, iii, 223-224. His interview with Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan and exchange of presents, iii, 225. His office of Mir-ateshy or Grand Master of the household, iii, 230. Made Governor of Cashmir, iii, 231. His appearance with an army at a critical time, iii, 262. His promotion to the Vezir-ship ; his respect for Nizam-el-mulk, iii, 276. Honours paid to, in full Durbar, iii, 277. His installation as Governor of Ecber-abad (Agra), iii, 285. Resolves to extirpate the family of the deceased Rohilla, Aaly-mahmed-qhan ; engages Caim-qhan to recover the countries in the possession of the latter, iii, 287. Marches against the Kohillas, iii, 289. His Moghul troops sack the town of Barr, iii, 293. His attack on the Rohillas, iii, 294. Defeated and wounded, iii, 297. His unpopularity due to his defeat ; his palace and property threatened with confiscation, iii, 303. His message to the intriguing Empress-mother and her favorite eunuch, iii, 304. His preparations for war ; his victory over the Afghans, iii, 305. Orders Aaly-beg-qhan to put to death the Zemindar of Pertab-gur, iii, 308. Incensed at a shameful compromise made by Djavid-qhan with the Abdali-king, iii, 328. Djavid-qhan murdered by the order of, iii, 329. The Emperor forms a conspiracy to bring about the ruin of, iii, 330. His

- irresolution to declare war against the conspiring Emperor, iii, 331. Takes into his service Sooroodj-mull, the Djatt Prince, iii, 332.
- ACHEL-SING**, late Divan to Shaocat-djung, supports the cause of Hazir-aaly-qhan, ii, 250. Appointed Prime-Minister, ii, 251. Suffers to be arrested, ii, 256.
- ACOZA**, the holy ; a treatise so styled, i, 209.
- ADAMS, MAJOR**, his order to the English army at the battle of Sooty, ii, 488.
- ADINA-BEG-QHAN**, Paymaster-general to Shah-nevaz-qhan, his address to his master ; his letter to the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan, iii, 254. His treachery in the field of battle, iii, 258. His precipitate flight, iii, 259. Appointed to command in the Do-abah ; instigates the Syks to devastate the whole province of Do-abah, iii, 376. Invites the Marhattas to come to his assistance ; appointed Governor-General of Mooltan ; his death, iii, 377.
- ADJADJOO**, a Zemindar of the Checlaw of Corra, rises in open revolt against Djan-nessar-qhan, the Fodjdar ; murders him and plunders his property, i, 269. An expedition undertaken against, by Saadet-qhan, i, 270. His defeat and death, i, 271.
- ADJMIR**, troubles in, i, 229. Its troubles put an end to, i, 234.
- ADJET-SING**, enters into a treaty with Hossein-aaly-qhan ; terms of his treaty, i, 68. Intercedes in behalf of his daughter, the Rani-consort, i, 137. Tries to get rid of popular curses and hootings, i, 138. Marches to Adjmir, i, 230. Appointed Governor of Ecber-abad ; lays siege to the fortress of Toon, i, 239.
- AFGHANS**, the, massacre by, ii, 37. Spread throughout India ; sack and plunder Azimabad, ii, 40.
- AGA-AZIMAI**, his connections with the Afghan Serdar-qhan, ii, 64. Accused of participation in the Afghan revolution at Azimabad ; his discharge, ii, 65.
- AGA-BABA**, adopted son of Nefissa-begum, his proposed marriage, ii, 109.
- AGA-SADVC**, his arrival at Moors hood-abad to lodge a complaint before Nevazish-mahmed-qhan ; murders Hossein-cooly-qhan at the instigation of Seradj-ed-dowla ; flies to Moors hood-abad, ii, 123.
- AGRA** (Ecber-abad), battle of, i, 8. Terrible rain of thirty hours at, i, 269.
- AHMED-ABAD**, religious trouble in, i, 74.
- AHMED-QHAN-BANGASH**, an Afghan officer, his address to Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 581-582. Rouses the Afghan army at the instigation of his half-sister, iii, 290. His victory over Vezir Abool-mansoor-qhan, iii, 297. Besieges and plunders the castle of Illah-abad, iii, 299. Raises the siege of Illah-abad, iii, 305. Encamps at Hussein-poor ; attacked by the Vezir, iii, 306. His defeat ; his settlement with the Vezir, iii, 307.

AHMED SHAH, Emperor, encounters Ahmed shah-abdali in a hot action ; suffers his army to be besieged for seven days, iii, 261. His victory, iii., 262. Proclaimed Emperor, iii, 264. His favorite eunuch, Djavid qhan, concludes a shameful treaty with the Abdali-monarch, iii, 327. Conspires for the ruin of his Vezir, Abool-mansoor-qhan, iii, 330-331. Confers the Vezirship on Intyzam ed-dowla ; invests Mir-sheab-eddin with absolute power to conduct war against the late Vezir, iii, 332. His capital, the theatre of war and blood-shed for six months, iii, 333. His peace and agreement with the Vezir ; makes over to him the Governments of Illahabad and Oudh in terms of the agreement, iii, 335. Rejects the request of Mir-sheab-eddin ; approves of the advice of Radja-sooroondj-mull, iii, 336. Deposed, imprisoned and blinded by Mir-sheab-eddin, iii, 339.

AHMED-SHAH ABDALI, invited by Nedjib-ed-dowlah, Ahmed-qhan-bangash, Shudja ed-dowlah, and other Afghan Princes ; arrives at Shah-djehanabad and inflicts on the Marhattas several destructive defeats ; returns to Candahar, his capital, ii, 413. Recommends all the Indian Princes to acknowledge Shah-aalem as their lawful sovereign, ii, 414. The founder of the new monarchy of the Doorannies ; taken prisoner by Nadyr-shah ; raised to the office of Commander, iii, 250. Becomes a potent Prince, shortly after the death of Nadyr-shah ; makes seven expeditions to Hindostan, iii, 251. Aspires to the throne on the prediction of a Fakyr, iii, 252. Takes the fortress of Candahar ; offers the Government of Cabool to Nassyr-qhan ; besieges Cabool, iii, 253. Accepts Shah-nevaz-qhan's offer of the Governments of Lahore and Mooltan iii, 254. His generous treatment of the family of the fugitive Nassyr-qhan, iii, 256. His unsuccessful attempt at settlement with Shah-nevaz-qhan, iii, 257. His engagement with Shah-nevaz qhan, iii, 258. His victory ; undertakes an expedition against Emperor Mahmed-shah, iii, 259. Sacks and plunders the town of Ser-hend, iii, 260. Besieges the Imperial army for seven days, iii, 261. His ammunition accidentally takes fire ; his army dismayed, takes to flight ; his defeat, iii, 262. Marches towards Lahore ; his progress checked by Mir mannoo, iii, 325. His accommodation with Mir mannoo ; returns towards Cabool and Candahar, iii, 326. Sends Calandar-qhan as Ambassador to the Court of Delhi ; the eunuchs of the Court of Delhi conclude a humiliating treaty with his Ambassador, iii, 327. Marches against the Vezir, Mir-sheab-eddin ; pays a visit to the Emperor Aalemghir II, iii, 349. His matrimonial alliance with the House of Babar, iii, 350. His marauding expedition, an account of, iii, 352. Gives protection to Maleca zamani and Sahaba-mahul, consorts of the Emperor Mahomed-shah ; marries the latter's daughter, iii, 353. Defeats the Marhattas in the Battle of Badely, iii, 379. Defeats the Marhattas in another bloody action, iii, 381.

Pursues the Marhattas and defeats them in a number of skirmishes, iii, 387. His victory over the Marhattas at Panipoot, iii, 391. Bestows the Empire of Hindostan upon Shah-aalem, iii, 392. Returns to his own dominions, iii, 393. Defeats the Syks in a bloody battle ; settles affairs in Lahore and Cashmir, iv, 4. Sends a body of troops for the subjugation of Cashmir ; directs the Radja of Jumnu to assist him in the undertaking, iv, 6. His victory over Djivan, the Syk ; his march to Candahar and Cabool, iv, 7.

AHMUTY, CAPTAIN, his regiment of Talingas mutinies ; sends advice of the event to Major Monro, ii, 561.

AMERICA, (Yenghi-duniah), the people, soil, and geographical position of, iv, 120. Its discovery, the circumstances that led to, iv, 121. Converted into a Colony by the English, iv, 122.

AMERICANS, The, revolt and defeat the English ; assisted by the French, iv, 123. Joined by the Spaniards, iv, 124.

AMINAH-BEGUM, youngest daughter of Aaly-verdy-qhan ; gives birth to Seradj ed dowla, i, 282. An aspersion against her moral character, i, 282 (*foot-note*). Her presence of mind, ii, 38. Taken prisoner by the Afghans, ii, 43. Rescued from prison, ii, 56. Sent to Dacca as prisoner ii, 281. Condemned to death by Miren ; meets her death, with heroical resignation, ii, 370 371.

AMYATT, MR., appointed Chief of the Factory at Azim-abad ; favour shown by him to Mir-abdullah, ii, 270. His answer to Ram narain, ii, 292. Informed of Prince Shah-aalem's arrival ; measures taken by him, ii, 295. Sees Kam-narain ; his answer to a question put by the latter, ii, 342. Prepares for his own defence, ii, 349. Enjoins the author to write to his father to keep away from the Imperial camp, ii, 354. His instructions to Ram-narain, ii, 357. His circumstantial details of Captain Knox's victory over Qhadum-hassen-qhan, ii, 362. Objects to the resolution of the English Councillors at Calcutta ; comes to Calcutta to make vigorous objections to Mr. Holwell's acting as Governor ; his representation answers no purpose, ii, 374. Forms a strong party against Governor Vansittart ; objects to the latter's scheme, ii, 380. Objects to his connection with Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 416-417. His embassy to Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 454. His reply to the author's questions, ii, 459. His arrival at Monghyr ; visits Mir-cassem-qhan ; offended with him, ii, 462-463. Insists upon the boat destined for Azim-abad Factory, not being detained, ii, 465. His voyage to Calcutta, ii, 466. His murder, ii, 476.

ANDERSON, MR., a Member of the Council of Azim-abad, recalled to preside at the Board of Revenue at Calcutta, iii, 101.

AORENG-ZIB, the Emperor, falls ill, i, 1. Gives the Viceroyalty of Bidjapoor to his youngest son, Cambaqhshi ; orders his second son, Aazem-shah, to set out for his Government of Malva, i, 2. Alarming state of his health ; his

death, i, 3. Intended distribution of his dominions, i, 4. His territories encroached on by Sivadji; sends Shahista-qhan and Djesvent-rhator to chastise him, iv, 14. Sends his son, Soltan Muazzem, to bring Sivadji under submission; confines Sivadji, iv, 15. Takes up his abode in Aoreng-abad for twenty-five years to chastise the Marhattas, iv, 16. His character and administration contrasted with those of Emperor Shah-aalem, iv, 125. His victory over his brother; sends his father to prison, iv, 127. His tyranny over his father and brothers, iv, 128-129. Orders the execution of his brother, Dara-shecoh, iv, 135. A short review of his administration, iv, 137-140. Allows unbounded sway to the ecclesiastics, iv, 141-142. Confines his sons; his suspicious temper alienates everybody, iv, 145-146. His antipathy for the Gentoos illustrated by the case of Djesvent-rhator, iv, 147-148. Outwitted by Radja Djesvent's officers in the matter of two Ranies, iv, 149-150. His pretensions to act up to the principles of religion exemplified; his hostile attitude towards the Radjas of the Khator family; sends for his sons to take part in the expedition against Adjmir, iv, 151. His youngest son, Prince Ecber, revolts; suspects his eldest son, Sultan Muazzem, iv, 152. Enforces capitation-tax on the Hindus; his new tax protested against, iv, 158. His inhuman treatment of the Hindu mob; his obstinacy and hard-heartedness; his apathy to his illustrious Generals; forbids the historians of his time to proceed with their chronicles, iv, 159. The gaps in his history, filled up by a collection of facts and traditional materials; his shameful defeats attributed to the general discontent of his officers and ministers, iv, 160. Terrible attack on his private character and public life, iv, 164-165. His haughty letter to the King of Haider-abad, iv, 166. His crafty instructions to his Ambassador, iv, 167. Trains Sheab-eddin to war, iv, 168. Orders Sheab-eddin to possess certain Marhatta fortresses; the fortress of Salir surrenders to, iv, 169. His magnificent preparations for the expedition of Bidjapoor; appoints his son, Aazem-shah, to command the expedition, iv, 174. Ill will and jealousy amongst his sons and his Generals, iv, 175. The combined efforts of his best Generals prove a failure; his whole army put to straits, iv, 176. Goes in person to the field of Bidjapoor, iv, 177. Bidjapoor surrenders to; orders for the confinement of Sekendar-shah, the King of Bidjapoor, iv, 179. Undertakes an expedition to Haider-abad; lays siege to it; his army narrowly escapes defeat through the interposition of Providence, iv, 180-181. Sends his son, Sultan Muazzem, to assist Qhan-djehan; his army repeatedly attacked by the Haider abadians, iv, 182. His reproaches to the victorious General, Seyd-abdollah; his letter to the General full of the bitterest complaints, iv, 183. His Generals hold a Council of War and exchange messages with those of the

enemy, iv, 184. His victory at Haider-abad iv, 187. Ruin of the magnificent city of Haider-abad attributed to, iv, 188. Concludes a treaty of peace with the King of Haider-abad, iv, 189. His ungenerous treatment of his illustrious General, Qhan-djehan, iv, 191. His diplomatic policy with regard to Haider abad, iv, 192-193. His fanatical conduct criticised by the Divines of Haider-abad ; his conduct defended by the envoy, Saadet-qhan, iv, 194-195. His praise of Saadet-qhan for defending his character ; marches to Haider-abad ; receives a respectful letter from Abool-hassen, iv, 196. His malignity of heart exemplified by the darkest deeds of his life ; his manifesto to the King of Haider-abad, iv, 197. Encamps near Golconda ; besieges the fortress ; his army attacked, iv, 198. Offended with Sultan Muazzem, iv, 200. Imprisons Sultan Muazzem with his family and consort ; subjects them to insults and ignominy, iv, 201. Tired of the protracted siege of Golconda ; debauches the principal Generals of Haider-abad, iv, 203-204. Conducts the siege in person ; famine in his camp, iv, 205. His mortification at the failure of an attempt at escalade, iv, 206. Noble and curious letter of the King of Haider-abad to, iv, 208-209. Digs mines to blow up the walls of Golconda ; his mines have a retrograde effect, iv, 210. His intrepidity, iv, 211. Meets with several reverses ; settles a regular Government at Haider-abad, iv, 212. His reception of the King of Haider-abad ; imprisons him in the fortress of Doolet-abad, iv, 220. Turns his victorious standard to Bidjapoor ; sends for Abdol-rezac ; orders for his confinement, iv, 224. His ungenerous treatment of his General, Saadet-qhan, iv, 226. His character compared with that of Abool-hassen, iv, 227-228.

AREFAT-DAY, (*i.e.*, ninth of the month of Zilhidj) i, 291, (*foot-note*).  
ASSED-QHAN, appointed Vekil-mootlak, or Agent-General, i, 15.

Intercedes in behalf of his son, Zulficar-qhan, i, 58. Met with a severe punishment, i, 62. His character and death, i, 99. Receives a humble message from Emperor Feroh-syur ; his reply thereto, i, 101.

ASSED-YAR-QHAN, a famous Poet, his death ; short history of, iii, 239-240.

ASSED-ZEMAN-QHAN, Zemindar of Birbohom, his refusal to meet the undue claim of Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 394. Posts his troops at Kerivha and stands on his defence, ii, 395. His whole army dispersed by a handful of English, ii, 396.

ASSEF-ED-DOWLA, *alias*, MIRZA-AMANI, succeeds his father under unfavorable circumstances, iv, 69-70. His character criticised ; his message to his mother for payment of his late father's treasures, iv, 71. Attempts to seize Sidy-besbir ; deprives his younger brother of the administration of Rohil-cund, iv, 72. Mr. Middleton appointed Resident at the court of, iv, 73. John Bristow, the new Resident, becomes all in-all at his court, iv, 74. His senseless

conduct ; disbands his father's disciplined troops, iv, 76-77. Weakness of his administration, iv, 83. Takes the assistance of the English to surprise Mahboob-aaly-qhan, iv, 84. His private life and character, iv, 96-100.

ASSIR, FORTRESS of, ceded to the Marhattas by Nizam-aaly, iii, 359. Its origin and history iii, 362-363.

ATA-OLLAH-QHAN, his connection with Shudja-qhan, late Viceroy of Bengal ; invested with the Government of Acber-nagur-radje-mahl, ii, 19. Sent to offer assistance to Mir-djaaffer-qhan ; his success in an action against the Marhattas, ii, 24. Conspires against Aaly-verdy-qhan ; unbecoming reception of Aaly-verdy-qhan by, ii, 25. His petition to Aaly-verdy-qhan ; quits the army, ii, 26. His treasonable letter intercepted, ii, 49. His banishment ; his amazing fortune, ii, 69. Fights for Nevol-roy ; slain in battle, iii, 291.

AZIM-ABAD, universal rejoicing at, after the defeat of the Afghans, ii, 57. Siege of, ii, 349-353 ; 532-535.

AZIM-OLLAH-QHAN, neglected by the Emperor Malimed-shah on his failure to get Malva out of the hands of the Marhattas ; assumes a different attitude ; dismissed from office, iii, 219. Pursued ; takes the protection of Zekeriah-qhan, iii, 220.

AZIM-USH-SHAN, second son of Bahadyr-shah, assumes the crown, i, 22. His defeat in the battle with his brother, Muzzeddin, i, 25-29. Drowned, i, 29.

## B.

BACA-OLLAH-QHAN, confined in the castle of Illah-abad ; iii, 298. Receives vigorous assistance from a Sanniassi, iii, 299.

BACSR, BATTLE of, ii, 565-567.

BADELY, BATTLE of, iii, 379.

BADJI-RAO, a Marhatta General of renown, assembles a mighty army to invade Malva and Goodjerat i, 257. The Government of Malva conferred upon, i, 258. His several engagements with Nizam-el-mulk, i, 295. His death, iii, 218. Succeeds his father, Baladji-beshvent ; appointed Prime Minister to Radja Sahoo, iv, 18. The part played by, in the occupation of Malva and Goodjerat, iv, 19-20. His protracted warfare with Nizam-el-mulk and his successors, iv, 21-22.

BAHADYR-SHAH, alias, SULTAN MUAZZEM, ascends the throne ; his letter to his brother, Aazem-shah and reply thereto, i, 5. receives with favour Assed-qhan, and Zulficar-qhan, i, 12. Takes possession of the fortresses of Amber and Djoodeipoor, i, 13. His remarkable delicacy about his own words, i, 14. Bestows appointments and titles upon Assed-qhan, Munaam-qhan and Zulficar-qhan, i, 15. His feeble administration, i, 18. His sudden death, i, 22. Takes an active part during the Siege of Bidjapoor, iv, 174-175. Reported to his father, Emperor Aorengzib, for taking part in a disreputable affair, iv, 178. Sent to the assistance of Qhandjehan during the Siege of Haider abad, iv, 182. His

attempt to make peace between the Emperor and Abool-hassen, iv, 199. Disgraced, and put into confinement, iv, 200. His effects confiscated; his consort put to the greatest insults without regard to female modesty, iv, 201. His noble answer to the Emperor's message brings about additional rigours and persecutions, iv, 202.

BAHT-SING-RHATOR, a Radjpoot Prince of great learning and military character ; revives his claim upon Djoodeipoor ; insinuates Saadet-qhan to come to his assistance, iii, 311. Advises Saadet-qhan to support his projects, iii, 315.

BALADJI-RAO, Commander-in-Chief of the Marhatta forces, ordered by the Emperor Mahmed-shah to succour Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 401. Ravages Bengal under pretence of assisting Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 414. Promises to offer no injury to the inhabitants of Azim-abad through the intercession of Govind-dji-naic, i, 417. Visited by Aaly verdy-qhan ; his reception of him, i, 419. His complaint regarding the arrears of *Chout* ; his alliance with Aaly-very-qhan on payment of the arrears ; marches against Ragho-dji and defeats him, i, 420. Retires to his dominions in Decan, i, 421. Marches to Aoreng-abad ; returns on receiving a present of fifteen lacs of Rupees from the Governor thereat, iii, 322. Sustains a defeat at the hands of Selabet-djung, iii, 323. Dies of a broken heart, iii, 392. His penurious way of living, iv, 23.

BARA-BHATI, Siege of, ii, 4; 82. Description of its situation, ii, 82-83.

BARR, Battle of, ii, 54-56.

BARWELL, Mr., one of the Members of the English Council, fights a duel with General Clavering, iii, 75.

BATSON, MR., Chief of the English Factory at Djehanghir-nagur-Dacca, seizes Navab Mir-cassem-qhan's officers and brings them as prisoners to his factory, ii, 446. A *fracas* between him and Mr. Hushtin (Warren Hastings) in the Council Chamber, ii, 478 and *foot-note*.

BAZ-SING, his death, i, 90 and *foot-note*.

BECOORIET, explanation of the word, i, 209.

BENDA, GENERAL, leader of the Sycs, his infernal deeds, i, 86. Stands his ground against the Imperial General Abdol-seimed-qhan ; beaten and pursued, i, 88. Takes shelter in the castle of Goordas-peor ; surrenders, i, 89. Carried prisoner to the Emperor, i, 90. Undergoes an excruciating death ; his reply to the address of Mahmed-amin-qhan, i, 91.

BENI-BAHADYR, Minister to Shudja-ed-dowla, inspires his master with a mistrust of his former negotiation with Navab Mir-cassem-qhan ; sends Shytab-ray with a message to Mir-djaaser-qhan, ii, 520. His expedition against the Radja of Bundel-cund, ii, 523. His shameful flight in the Battle of Bacsar, ii, 566. His proposal to Aaly-hibrahim-qhan ; ordered by Shudja-ed-dowla to bring up Emperor Shah-aalem, ii, 570. His conference with the English in

- their camp, ii, 571. His arrival at Bérheily ; his advice for making peace with the English, rejected by Shudja-ed-dowla ; sent to Lucnow, ii, 573. His arrival at Lucnow, ii, 574. Visits Major Carnac ; declines his proposal, ii, 575. His escape to Shudja-ed-dowla's camp, ii, 576.
- BETIA, Zemindar of, his offer to Aaly-verdy-qhan ; delivers up Shimshir-qhan's widow and children to him, ii, 58.
- BESSENT-QHAN, General, a eunuch, undertakes to murder Moqhtar-ed-dowla, the Prime Minister ; invites him to an entertainment, iv, 78. His reception of Moqhtar-ed-dowla, iv, 79. Manages to murder the Prime Minister ; murdered by order of Assef-ed-dowla, iv, 80.
- BHAG-BAI, a favourite of Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, ii, 127 and *foot note*.
- BHA-SUKUR-PANDET, Prime Minister to Ragho-dji-bhossllah, sent to invade Bengal, i, 377. His proposal to Aaly-verdi-qhan ; his several skirmishes with the latter's army, i, 378. Plunders the whole baggage of the Bengal army, i, 379. His reply to Mir-qhair-ollah-qhan ; sent with a message from the Radja of Bardevan, i, 382. Defeated, and pursued, i, 404. Obliged to leave the management of the march to Mir-habib, i, 405. Puts in his next appearance on the confines of Oressa and Bengal ; intends to defeat Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 430. Entrapped by Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 431-434. Murdered, i, 435.
- BIBIES, (*i. e.* English Ladies), ii, 190 (*foot note*).
- BIDJAPOOR, Fortress of, ceded to the Marhattas, iii, 359. Short history of, iii, 362. Kingdom of, its position, extent and short history iv, 174. Siege of, iv, 175-179.
- BILLERS, MR., succeeds to the Chiefship of Azim-abad ; installs Mir-cazem-qhan as Viceroy of Bahar in exchange for a sum of money ; commits suicide on Lord Clive's arrival ; his burial, iii, 7.
- BIRU-DUTT, Prime Minister, succeeds Chein-ray, ii, 76. Honored with the title of Ray-rayan, ii, 85. His death, ii, 114.
- BISHEN-SING, Zemindar of Seress and Cotumbah, submits to Radja Ram-narain, ii, 276. Flies to Benares, ii, 430.
- BOORHANPUR, Battle of, i, 93-95 ; 162-163.
- BRISTOW, MR., promoted to the Chiefship of Aood and Lucnow, iii, 76. Appointed Resident at the Court of Assef-ed-dowla, iv, 74. Benares ceded to the English through the instrumentality of, iv, 75. Reprimanded by Iredj-qhan, the Prime Minister, iv, 100.
- BUNIAD-SING, his confinement in Camcar-qhan's camp ; his petition to Emperor Shah-aalem, ii, 377. Released ; helps the Emperor with plenty of ammunition and other necessities ; leaves the Imperial camp, ii, 378. Confined by Navab Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 423. His death, ii, 492.
- BUSSY, MOOSHER, his letter to Aaly-verdy-qhan, ii, 163. Commands the body of French in the service of Hedaiet-muhieddin-qhan-muzafer-djung ; his extreme influence all over the Decan ; obtains the countries of Sicacol and Radjbenderi ;

&c., for his djaghir, iii, 353, and *foot note*. His titles ; obtains for Shah-nevaz-qhan the Premiership of the Decan, iii, 354. Aims at the overthrow of the powerful Nizam-aaly ; debauches his best Officers, iii, 355. Confines Nizam-aaly ; out of his senses at the latter's escape, iii, 356.

## C.

CADEFFIAH, NAVVAB, mother of the Emperor Mahmed-shah, i, 146 and *foot-note*. Singular ceremony observed by, at the introduction of her victorious son into the Imperial seraglio, i, 201

CAIM-QHAN, besieges the castle of Budaon ; encounters Saad-ollah-qhan in an action, iii, 287. His defeat and death, iii, 288.

CALYAN-SING, RADJA, succeeds his father, Radja Shitab-ray, iii, 67. His slothfulness ; loses all power and influence at the Council Board of Azimabad ; recommends Radja Hyaliram to Governor Hushtin (Warren Hoastings), iii, 109. Applies himself to the task of putting the finances in order conjointly with Hyaliram ; imputations against him by Hyaliram , not heeded by Governor Hushtin, iii, 111.

CAMAC, COLONEL, his repeated engagements with the Marhattas ; obliged to surrender the fortress of Goaliar and evacuate all his other conquests ; his retreat, iv, 116.

CAMCAR-QHAN, Zemindar of Narhut-semai, his difference with Sunder-sing ; arrested and confined, ii, 264. Invites Emperor Shah-aalem to join him, ii, 332. Visits the Emperor at Catoly ; undertakes to furnish the expenses of the Imperial household ; his advice approved by the Emperor, ii, 338. Attacks Ram-narain, ii, 339. Misses Azimabad, ii, 342. Marches forward to meet the Bengal army with the Colonel Clive and the English, ii, 343. His retreat ; carries the Emperor to Bahar ; detaches himself from the Emperor to fall by stealth upon Moorshood-abad, ii, 345. Prevented in his design ; intends to surprise Mir-cassem-qhan ; avoids an engagement and proceeds to Azimabad, ii, 346. Besieges Azimabad, ii, 349. Surprised in his camp ; goes to Gaya-manpur and raises contributions for the Emperor, ii, 353. Pays his respects to Hedaiet-aaly-qhan, ii, 356. Complains of the Emperor's favour to Buniad-sing, ii, 378. Defeated by Major Carnac in the battle of Gaya-manpoor ; his flight, ii, 401. Offended with the Emperor for his growing inclination to the English ; retires with his troops to his country, ii, 405. Fears to be called to account by Mir-cassem-qhan ; flies to the mountains of Ram-gur, ii, 422. Takes service with Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 492. His discourse with Gurghin-qhan, ii, 494. Engaged to make incursions into Bir-bohom ; his failure ; returns to his own country, ii, 495.

CAMCAR-QHAN, leader of the Balooches, some account of, iv, 29-30.

CAMER-EDDIN-QHAN, appointed second Paymaster-general, i, 242. His title of Djumlet-el-mulk, i, 247. His expedition against the Marhattas, i, 268. His encroachments on the possessions of Seif-eddin-aaly-qhan, i, 296. Sends an expedition against Seif-eddin-aaly-qhan, i, 297. Devastates the town of Djan-sitah, i, 298. His attendance commanded by the Emperor Mahmed-shah, i, 314. Gets news of his dismissal; his petition to the Emperor, i, 319. Decorates Aaly-mahmed-rohilla with titles and honours, iii, 233. Sends Radja Harnund to chastise the Rohilla, iii, 234. Sends his wife, Shola-poori, with her youngest son, to negotiate with the Rohilla; iii, 235. His under-handed encouragements to the Rohilla; his mediation in the settlement of peace with the latter, iii, 238. Appointed Viceroy of Lahore and Mooltan; appoints two sons of the late Zekeriah-qhan as his Deputies, iii, 240. His affecting letter to his nephew, iii, 255. Killed by a cannon-ball while at prayers, iii, 261. Short review of his career, iii, 280.

CANDOO-BEHARI, a great Marhatta General; commits enormous excesses in Qhandess, i, 107. His exaction of one-quarter of the merchants' goods, i, 108. Kills General Zulficar-beg sent against him; orders a general massacre, i, 109.

CARGUZAR-QHAN, Commander-in-Chief of Shaocat-djung; his witty reply, ii, 200.

CARNAC, MAJOR, successor to Colonel Clive; deputes the author to induce Mir-cassem's attendance to Bahar, ii, 395. Encamps at Djaafer-qhan's garden; orders Ram-narain and Radja-booloob to join him, ii, 397. Disgusted at the continual dissensions between Ram-narain and Radja-booloob; deputes the author to bring Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 398. Marches to Gaya-manpoor; defeats Emperor Shah-aalem, ii, 401. Takes Moosher Lass prisoner, ii, 402. Sends Shitab-ray to the Emperor with an offer, ii, 403. Intends to visit the Emperor; advances to receive the Emperor, ii, 405. Requests the Emperor to pitch his tent in a garden close to the town of Gaya; acknowledges the Emperor's sovereignty; his encampment at Bankipore, ii, 406. His skirmish with Shudja-ed-dowla; his victory, ii, 535. Receives a letter from Emperor Shah-aalem; his disapproval of its contents, ii, 537. His petition to the Emperor, ii, 538. Superseded by Major Monro; quits the army and goes to Calcutta, ii, 561. Promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General; his proposal to Beni-bahadyr, ii, 575. Advances with Shilab-ray and Mirza-nedjef-qhan to offer battle to Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 579. Beats Shudja-ed-dowla in an action in the plains of Corra, ii, 580. His reception of Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 583. Becomes Clive's principal manager in political affairs; becomes a sworn enemy of Dr. Fullerton and causes his dismissal, iii, 7. In command of the Bombay force; injudiciously attacks the Marhattas; suffers a complete defeat to the disgrace of the British name, iii, 115.

CARNATIC, ruined by water, i, 226.

CARTIER, MR., succeeds Mr. Veris as Governor of Calcutta; resolves to thoroughly investigate all revenue matters ; his Council suspects Shitab-ray's administration, iii, 33. Divides Bengal and Bahar into six Governments ; forms Councils to watch over the proceedings of the six Governments, iii, 34.

CASHMIR, furious commotions in, i, 159-161.

CATEC, (CUTTACK), a description of the situation of, ii, 82-83.

CATWA, Battle of, ii, 14; 484.

CAZY, corruption in the office of, ascribed to the lease-system, iii, 165.

CHEIN-RAY, Ray-rayan, Prime Minister to Aaly-verdy-qhan ; his death ; some account of, ii, 76.

CHIN-KYLYDJ-QHAN, his singular quarrel with Zohra, i, 38.

Moves Zulficar-qhan for justice, i, 39. Decorated with the title of Nizam-el-mulk and invested with the Viceroyalty of Decan, i, 59.

CHINTAMON-DAS, Divan to Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan ; at variance with Hedaict-aaly-qhan, i, 171. Appointed Deputy-Governor of Azimabad on the dismissal of Hedaiet-aaly-qhan ; his death, i, 414.

CHINTAMON-DAS, promoted to the office of Superintendent of Finances in the District of Bodj-poor, ii, 439. Accused of corresponding with the refractory zemindars, ii, 440. Sentenced to death, ii, 441.

CHURAMON, a powerful Djatt Prince, proves very troublesome i, 106. Offers submission, i, 107. His fortress laid siege to ; commits suicide, i, 239.

CIRCUMCISION, arguments in contradiction to the mistaken notion of, as being the seal of Mussulmanism, iv, 149 (*foot note*).

CLAVERING, GENERAL, sent to India by the Council in England ; sets up an enquiry into the administration of Governor Hushtin (Warren Hastings), iii, 74. Takes Nand-comar into his party ; his conduct produces disunion amongst the Members of the Council ; his duel with Mr. Barwell ; prevalence of his party, iii, 75. Emancipates Mubarec-ed-dowla from the grasp of Menny-begum, iii, 76. His quarrel with the Governor Hushtin ; his hastiness in taking his seat as President of the Council ; tried and reprimanded by the Supreme Royal Court of Justice ; falls ill. iii, 89. Dies of a broken heart, iii, 90.

CLIVE, COLONEL, his title of "The Steady and Tried in War;" his many victories over the French in the Decan ; his voyage to Calcutta, ii, 219. His letter to Seradj-ed-dowla ; tired of waiting for an answer, ii, 220. Marches against Manic-chund ; retakes Calcutta, ii, 221. His preparations to march against Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 229. Takes up his position in the grove of Palassy, ii, 230. His victory, ii, 234. His orders to Major Coote, ii, 236.

Receives a letter from Mir-djafer-qhan ; takes a copy of the letter and returns the original, ii, 258. His message to Navab Mir-djafer-qhan ; his second message ; sends in the minute drawn up by the Navab's own Secretary in support of his second message, ii, 263. His consent to Mir-djafer-qhan's application for assistance, ii, 326. Marches against Emperor Shah-aalem, ii, 327. Mediates in an agreement between Miren and Qhadum-hassen-qhan, ii, 327. Arrives close to Azimabad ; receives Ram-narain with cordiality, ii, 328. Marches against Radja Paluvansing ; brings him to submission ; receives a letter from Emperor Shah-aalem, ii, 329. His respectful answer to the Emperor's letter ; his return to Azimabad, ii, 330. Marches against the Emperor Shah-aalem ; his battle-order, ii, 343. Defeats the Imperial army, ii, 345. His expedition to help Ram-narain ; arrives near Azimabad, ii, 363. Informed of Miren's death by lightning, ii, 372. Advances to the Fort of Betiah ; decamps from Betiah after compelling its Zemindar to come to terms ; resolves to return home, ii, 373. His election of Mr. Vansittart, Chief of Mendradj for the Governorship of Calcutta, ii, 374. Returns from England with absolute authority over Bengal and Azimabad, iii, 2. Dismisses Nand-comar ; extends his favour to Mahmed-reza-qhan and recommends him to the Deputyship of Navab Nedjm-ed-dowla, iii, 4. Promoted to the title and dignity of a Lord ; his extensive powers ; attacks the conduct of Johnson and Middleton ; receives a bold, undisguised reply from the latter, iii, 5. Goes to Illahabad in company with Shitab-ray to pay his respects to the Emperor ; exchanges sumptuous entertainments and presents with the Vezir ; compels the Emperor to invest the Company with the Divan-ship of Bengal, Bahar and Oressa ; returns to Calcutta with the Patents or *Seneds* of the Divany duly signed and sealed, iii, 9. Returns to Azimabad ; dismisses the Governor Mir-cazem-qhan ; appoints Radja Durdj-narain, Governor of Azimabad ; effects certain changes in the administration, iii, 11. Convenes a meeting at Chapra, which is attended by all the interested parties, iii, 20. Returns to England bent on impeaching Governor Vansittart ; levels serious charges against Vansittart, which the latter vigorously repels in defence, iii, 36-37.

**COHNOOR**, the famous diamond, its description and history (*Foot-note*), iv, 167-168.

**COMPANY**, explanation of the term, iv, 119.

**COMPANY, THE EAST INDIA**, their constitution and servants, some account of, iii, 151-153. Twelve causes assigned for the country's decline in prosperity under the rule of, iii, 191-211.

**COOKY**, daughter of a Fakir, introduces herself into the good

graces of the Emperor Mahmed-shah, i, 244. Her subsequent disgrace and dismissal, i, 253.

COOTE, MAJOR, pursues Moosher Lass ; returns to his Commander, Colonel Clive, ii, 236. His arrival from Europe, with the title of General, at Azim-abad ; his sudden appearance in Mir-cassem-qhan's quarters ; his immediate departure leaving behind an English Officer to present the Navab his excuses, ii, 415. Reprimanded by the Council at Calcutta ; concludes upon returning to England, ii, 416. Succeeds General Clavering as Commander-in-Chief of the forces in India, iii, 128. Repairs to the fortress of Madras to take command of the army, iii, 130. His engagement with Haider-naic ; beaten, iii, 134. Joined by Colonel Pearce with a fresh army ; offers several battles to Haider-naic without effect ; returns to Calcutta, iii, 141.

CORSTAIRS, MAJOR, ordered by Mr. Ellis to get ready for an assault of Azim-abad, ii, 471.

COOTOOB-EDDIN-QHAN-BAHADYR, quarrels with Hedaiet-aaly-qhan and aims at his life, iii, 266. His interview and ultimate friendship with Hedaiet-aaly-qhan, iii 267-268. His engagement with Pir-ahmed, iii, 269. His singular character, iii, 271. Declines the Fodjdaries of Hyssar and Djedjar, iii, 273. Resolves to repossess the hereditary Government of Meorad-abad from the hands of the Rohillas ; avails himself of a favourable opportunity to push on his object, iii, 274. His rejection of the terms of an agreement offered by the Afghans, iii, 275. His gallantry and death, iii, 276.

CROWN OF CREATED BEINGS, (*i. e.*, Mohammed), iii, 559 and *foot-note*.

COURT OF JUDICATURE, THE SUPREME, its establishment in Calcutta, iii, 209. Sits in judgment at seasons and stated times ; its method of distributing justice ; strong native feeling against, iii, 210-211.

CUZZEL-BASH, i, 302 (*foot-note*).

## D.

DANA-ANNGA, *alias*, DAI-COOIL ; her resignation ; her wise advice to the author ; provides him with a sum of money, ii, 153-154.

DAOOD-QHAN-PENI, Governor of Goodjerat, receives a secret order to destroy Hossein-aaly-qhan with his troops, i, 72. Sides with the Hindus in their friction with the Mussulmans, i, 74. Prepares to oppose Hossein-aaly-qhan, i, 92. His victory and death ; strange anecdote about his Rajpoot consort, i, 96.

DARA-SHECOH, affecting narrative of the flight and adventures of, iv, 129-132. Sentenced to death, iv, 135. His daughter's heroic attitude during the Siege of Bidjapore, iv, 176.

DAROGA-OF-THE-ADALAT, some account of the office of, iii, 168. Abuses in the office of, iii, 169-170. Its office transferred to English hands. iii, 171.

DATA-SINDIA, a great Marhatta General, sets out for the conquest of Hindustan, iii, 371. Marches against the Abdali-king, iii, 379. His defeat and death at the Battle of Badely ; his mighty army butchered to a man, iii, 380.

DAUD-AALY-QHAN, better known as Zair-hossein-qhan, short history of, ii, 168.

DELHI, great disturbance at, due to the murder of a Hadji, i, 263-264. Plague at ; strange frost in, i, 265. Civil war at ; the theatre of war and bloodshed for months together, iii, 332-333. Sooroodj-mull, the Djatt, sacks and plunders the old city, iii, 334. New troubles in, iii, 335-336. The Marhattas storm and occupy, iii 384.

DILIR-QHAN, his fidelity to Mir-djaaffer-qhan ; deprived of his considerable arrears by Miren ; takes service with the two zemindars, Fateh-sing and Buniad-sing, ii, 331. Invites the Emperor Shah-aalem, ii, 332. Visits the Emperor, ii, 338. His gallantry ; wounded by a musket-ball, ii, 339. His death, ii, 341.

DJAAFER-QHAN, Divan of Bengal, entrusted with the Military Governments of Bengal and Oressa, i, 40.

DJAGAT-SEAT, the famous banker, i, 279. Receives a letter from Aaly-verdy-qhan ; presents it to Ser-efraz-qhan, i, 332. Offers "Tips" or Promissory Notes to Aaly-verdy-qhan's Commanders under condition of making Aaly-verdy-qhan over to Ser-efraz-qhan, i, 336 and *foot-note*. His house plundered of two Corors of Rupees, besides other goods, by Mir-habib, a Marhatta Commander, i, 393. Ill-used by Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 193. Excites the English to a rupture ii, 228.

DJAGAT-SEAT BROTHERS ; their house closely surrounded by Mahmed-taky-qhan ; they receive a message from the latter, ii, 456. Seized and carried to Monghyr ; received with distinction by Mir-cassem-qhan ; parentage and short history of, ii, 457-458. Murdered by order of Mir-cassemi-qhan, ii, 504.

DJANI-BEGUM, consort to Prince Aazem-shah ; her activity during the Siege of Bidjapoor ; repulses the enemy, iv, 176.

DJANKIRAM, RADJA, Minister to Aaly-verdy-qhan ; his advice to his master, i, 383. Appointed Deputy Governor of Azimabad, ii 68. Placed in a dilemma ; contrivance adopted by, ii, 99. Stands upon his guard, ii, 100. Defence of Azimabad by, ii, 102. His success, ii, 105. His death, ii, 117.

DJAN-NESSAR-QHAN, appointed Governor of Qhandess, i, 114.

DJANO-DJI, son of Ragho-dji-bhossllah, his defeat, ii, 28. His arrival near Azim-abad ; visited by the Afghans Shimshir-qhan and Morad-shir-qhan, ii, 50. His attempt to plunder Moorshood-abad ; goes to Nagpur, ii, 77. His arrival at Catec as Deputy to his father ; orders Mir-habib to render accounts, ii, 115.

DJANSITA, ruin of the town of, i, 298.

DJAVID-QHAN, a eunuch ; his intimate connections with Oodem-

bai, mother of the Emperor Ahmed-shah ; his influence over the Emperor, iii, 285. Becomes a Nazyr with absolute control over the seraglio ; receives the title of Navab-bahadyr, iii, 286. Concludes a shameful treaty with the Abdaly-king, iii, 327. His murder, iii, 329.

DJEHANDAR-SHAH *alias*, Muezz-eddin, eldest son of Bahadry-shah, his engagement with his brother, Azim-ush-shan ; his victory, i, 25-29. A bloody decision between him and his brother, Qhodjistah-aqhtar ; assumes the title of, i, 30. His flight, i, 31. Unexpectedly victorious, i, 33. His accession to the throne, i, 34. Puts to death Sultan Kerim-eddin, i, 35. His fortune on the decline, i, 49. Sends his son, Yezz-eddin to fight Feroh-syur, i, 50. His son's shameful flight ; marches in person, i, 51. His defeat and flight, i, 56. Arrested and confined by the Vezir Assed-qhan, i, 57. His assassination, i, 62. Entrusted with the command of the van ; resolves to come to a decisive action ; engages in a sharp encounter, iv, 185. His victory ; his respect for the ladies of the enemy, iv, 186.

DJEHAN-SHAH. *See* Qhodjistah-aqhtar.

DJEHI-SING, Navab Radja ; complained of at Court for his partiality against the Mussulman subjects ; dismissed from service, i, 227.

DJENTIL, MOOSHER, (Monsieur Gentil), visits Aaly-hibrahim-qhan ; his advice to him, ii, 545.

DJESSARET-QHAN, Governor of Djehanghir-nugur-Dacca ; instructed by Miren to put to death Gahassity-begum and Aminah-begum, ii, 368. Declines the odious task, ii, 369.

DJESVENT-RAHTOR, Radja ; in favour with the Emperor Aoreng-zib, iv, 147. Rewarded with the Government of Gudjerat : two Rancies of his family narrowly escape dishonor, iv, 148-149.

DJEVAHER-MULL, son and successor to Sooroodj-mull, commences hostilities with Nedjib-ed-dowla ; takes into service a body of Marhattas ; accepts the services of a European, named Somro, iv, 33.

DJIVAN, the Syk, begins life as a writer and accountant ; applies for the Patent of the Government of Cashmir, iv, 4. Bears an absolute sway ; his valuable character and his patronage of learning, iv, 5. Opposes Noor-eddin-qhan ; taken prisoner, iv, 7.

DOOLET-ABAD, ceded to the Marhattas, iii, 359. Historical account in connection with, iii, 360-361.

DOCLOOBRAM, RADJA, son of Djankiram, the first Minister, ordered to attend business at Oressa as Pishcar or Agent, i, 406. The Government of Oressa conferred upon, with other honors, i, 445. His incapacity, ii, 2. His cowardice, ii, 3. Shuts himself up in the fortress of Bara-bhati ; visits Ragho-dji-bhossiah ; made prisoner by stratagem, ii, 4. His release ; his return to Moorshood-abad, ii, 6. Promoted to the office of Agent-General to Radja

Ram-narain at Moorshood-abad, ii, 118. Ill-used by Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 193. His agent at Calcutta excites the English to a rupture, ii, 228. Goes to Palassy with his troops ; appears to be busy with his duty, ii, 230. Made first Minister of Mir-djaafar-qhan, ii, 237. Helps Emperor Shah-aalem with money, ii, 349.

**DOST-MAHMED-QHAN**, distinguishes himself in a skirmish with the Marhatta Ragho-dji-bhosslah, ii, 13. Made Commander of a Brigade, ii, 15. His display of valour, ii, 55. Wounded and disabled, ii, 222. Retires to Sarsaram, ii, 224.

**DRAKE, MR.**, gives shelter to Kishen-lohlub, ii, 188. His shameful flight, ii, 189. Retires to the factory of Mendradj, ii, 219.

**DUCARELL, MR.**, Governor of Puraniah, in charge of the Finance Office ; mediates between the Governor Hushtin and Mr. Francis, iii, 106.

**DURDJ-NARAIN, RADJA**, brother of Radja Ram-narain, appointed Deputy Governor of Azim-abad, ii, 555. His avarice and aspirations ; his ungratefulness to his benefactor, iii, 8. Appointed Governor of Azim-abad ; dismissed with disgrace iii, 11. His mismanaged state of affairs brought to light to his great discomfiture, iii, 18. His secrets betrayed by Moorlydur ; rejects the wise advice of Shitab-ray, iii, 19. Proceeds in great pomp to pay his respects to Lord Clive ; compelled on the way to retire ; obtains permission to mix in the Viceroy's cortége after providing for the payment of his outstanding balances, iii, 20.

## E.

**ECBER, PRINCE**, younger son of the Emperor Aoreng-zib, revolts against his father ; assumes the crown and strikes money in his own name, iv, 152. Seeks an asylum with the Marhatta Emperor Simba-dji ; embarks towards the country of Iran ; his ship disabled by a storm ; takes shelter in the Harbour of Mascat, iv, 153. Seized, imprisoned and sold by the Imam of Mascat, iv, 154. Liberated by the Shah-sultan-suleiman, the Iranian Emperor, iv, 155. Received with the utmost kindness and hospitality by the Iranian Monarch, iv, 156-157.

**ECRAM-ED-DOWLA**, grandson of Aaly-verdy-qhan, his marriage ii, 117. His death, ii, 119.

**ENGLISH, THE**, stand on their defence ; their fortified outposts taken possession of by Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 189. Their warehouses and dwellings pillaged by the army of Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 190. Their deliberation at a meeting, ii, 219. Acquire a full knowledge of the situation of Seradj-ed-dowla's camp ; their strange attack ; return to their fortified houses without loss, ii, 222. Their terms for a treaty agreed to by Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 223. Their representation to Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 226. Effects of Mir-djaafar-qhan's representation upon ; result of a great Council held by, ii, 229.

Their high regard on the very name and sound of Imperial Prince, ii, 326. Their march against Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 480. Their victory over Mir-cassem-qhan's Generals, Aalem-qhan and Hibet-ollah, ii, 483. Their victory in the Battle of Catwa, ii, 485. Their victory in the Battle of Sooty, ii, 489. Surprise the strong post of Udua ; their victory, ii, 498. Confined in the house called Hadji-ahmed ; massacred by Mir-cassem-qhan's orders, ii, 505. Take the fortress of Monghyr ; march to Azim-abad, ii, 508. Occupy the citadel of Aziin-abad, ii, 510. Their notion of the bravery and number of Shudja-ed-dowla's army ; their precipitate retreat, ii, 528. Their march to Azim-abad, ii, 530. Arrive at Azim-abad ; their preparations for defence, ii, 531. Their engagement with Shudja-ed-dowla under the walls of Patna, ii, 532-533. Join the Emperor Shah-aalem ; their inclination to come to terms with Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 571. Besiege Chennar-gur, ii, 577. Raise the siege and march against Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 578. The garrison of Chennar-gur surrenders to, ii, 582. Terms of the treaty concluded with them, by Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 584. Their unity and generosity towards the landholders of Bengal, iii, 12. Their surprise at a strange Indian way of distributing justice, iii, 27-28. Manner by which they find their way to most parts of India, iii, 93. Their successes in Decan, iii, 116-117. Their complete and disgraceful defeat in Decan, iii, 127. Their suppression of the details of war, iii, 132. The historic fortress of Gwalior taken by, iii, 135. Abandon the fortresses of Gwalior and Gohud to come to terms with the Marhattas, iii, 137. Negotiations carried on by, for a passage through the Marhatta territory of Oressa, iii, 138-139. Passage through Oressa obtained by, on payment of the arrears of *Chout* and other valuable presents to the Marhattas of Nagpur, iii, 140-141. A critical examination of their system of Government, iii, 153-155. Their hatred of the natives of India, iii, 161. Failure in rent ascribed to their ignorance of the Indian usages and customs, iii, 163-164. Their introduction of lease system brings corruptions in the Cazy's Office, iii, 165-166. Their unsociableness and inaccessibleeness, iii, 170. Severe reflection upon, as masters of Bengal, iii, 171. The zemindars too loose and unrestrained under their government, iii, 181. Native accusations brought in general against them, contradicted, iii, 183 (*foot-note*). The country seems to have no apparent master since their conquest, iii, 185. A critical examination into their defective administration, iii, 184-211. Struck with the prosperity of the French, resolve to have a share in the conquest of India ; take up the cause of Mahmed-aaly-qhan ; take possession of Arcat, iii, 354. Occupy the French fortress and port of Poolcherry after a long siege, iii, 363. Their treaty with Shudja-ed dowla, an account of, iv, 51.

Behrās annexed to, iv, 74. Wage war in Decan against the Marhattas ; colonise in America, iv, 122. Their war with the American colonists, iv, 123-124.

**ENGLISH COUNSELLORS AT CALCUTTA**, The, assent to Lord Clive's election of Mr. Vansittart, as the Governor of Calcutta, ii, 374. Their consent to Navab Mir-cassem-qhan's application for bringing Radja Ram-narain under his control ; their interposition on Shitab-ray's behalf ; order Shitab-ray to quit Mir-cassem-qhan's dominions, ii, 420. Demand an explanation from Mir-cassem-qhan for his five executions, ii, 429. Their opinion on Mir-cassem-qhan's letter to Governor Vansittart ; their resolution of deputing one from amongst themselves to Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 454. Their assemblage in the Council Chamber ; their bitter reproaches upon Governor Vansittart and Mr. Hushtin, ii, 477. Reject Governor Vansittart's advice ; their unanimous opinion to take revenge for Mr. Amyatt's murder ; offer Mir-djaaffer-qhan the sovereignty of Bengal and the services of the English forces ; their agreement with Mir-djaaffer-qhan, ii, 479. Depose Mir-cassem-qhan and reinstate Mir-djaaffer-qhan, ii, 486. Their order to Major Monro to attack Shudja-ed-dowlah, ii, 562.

**ENGLISH COUNCIL IN LONDON**, The, disapprove of the treaty concluded by the English with Shudja-ed-dowlah, iv, 58.

**ENGLISH TRADERS**, The, their subjection to unaccustomed duties, iii, 449.

**ELLIOT, MR.**, appointed Ambassador at the Court of Poonah, iii, 99.

**ELLIS, MR.**, Chief of the English Factory at Azimabad, ii, 420. Seizes Mir-cassem-qhan's officers and brings them prisoners to his factory, ii, 446. His preparations for an assault of Azimabad, ii, 471. Attacks Azimabad, ii, 472. Takes possession of all Azimabad, excepting the citadel and the Chehel-sootoon ; his retreat, ii, 473. Quits the factory ; surrenders with his followers, ii, 474. Sent prisoner to Monghyr ; committed to Ferhad-aaly's care, ii, 480.

**EMANET-QHAN**, a follower of Mehdi-nessar-qhan, his gallantry ; his death, ii, 102.

**EMIR-DJEMLAH**, keeper of the Emperor Feroh-syur's private signet, i, 68. His jealousy of other Ministers, i, 69. Ordered to quit the Court ; i, 71. His pusillanimous conduct, i, 99. His incapacity, i, 104.

**EMIR-QHAN**, decorated with the title of Umdet-el-mulk and made third Paymaster-General, i, 318. Secretly made a Vezir ; his hostile attitude to and disagreeable discourse upon, Camer-eddin, resulting in the latter's dismissal, i, 319-320. Offers an apology to Nizam-el-mulk and Camer-eddin, i, 321. Advised to repair to Illahabad, i, 322. Invested with the Fodjdarī of Gwalior, iii, 231. Rise and subsequent disgrace of, iii, 243-245. His murder, iii, 246. His body

and property, a dispute about, iii, 247-248. His ancestry and family, iii, 277. His learning, gallantry, talents and generosity, iii, 279.

## F.

**FAQHR-EDDIN-HOSSEIN-QHAN**, son of Seif-qhan ; his marriage with Seyd-ahmed-qhan's daughter ; sudden death of his wife, ii, 18. His conspiracy against his father ii, 64. Succeeds his father as Governor of Puraniah ; his bad conduct, ii, 74. His letter to Aaly-verdy-qhan ; his journey to Moorshood-abad ; his confinement, ii, 76. His escape and union with his troops at Maha-nedda ; his march to Puraniah, ii, 78. Stops at Malda, ii, 79. Sent for by Aaly-verdy-qhan ; lodged at Moorshood-abad under guard, ii, 85. Effects his escape and joins the Marhattas ; his death, at Shah-djehan--abad, ii, 90.

**FATEH-SING-CAICVAR**, one of the feudatories of the Marhattah Empire ; makes a treaty with the English and gets possession of Goodjerat, iii, 116. His defection, iii, 119.

**FERO-SYUR, PRINCE**, son of Azim-ush-shan ; a competitor to the throne of Bengal ; declared a prisoner and sent for by Djehandar-shah ; reckons on the gratitude of Hossein-aaly-qhan ; arrives at Azim-abad with family, i, 41. His interview with Hossein-aaly-qhan ; his daughter Maleka Zemani induces Hossein-aaly to take up his cause ; his cause espoused by Hossein-aaly, i, 42-43. Rises in rebellion against Djehandar-shah ; his victory, i, 48-49. His engagements with the Emperor Djehandar-shah, i, 50-55. His fresh victory, i, 56. Ascends the throne, i, 58. Decorates his nobies, i, 59. Puts to death the Emperor Djehander-shah and the General Zu'fiscar-qhan, i, 62. Bloody beginnings that marked the first days of his reign, i, 63. His incapacity, fickle nature and mean character, i, 65. Scheme for parting the two formidable Seid Brothers, i, 66. His insincerity, i, 72. His nuptials with a Hindu Princess, i, 76. Disapproves of the treaty concluded with the Marhattas, i, 113. His addiction to unnatural practices, i, 115. Sends for the three illustrious Governors of the Empire, i, 116. His curious answer to the resolute proposals of Nizam-el-mulk and Ser-boolend-qhan, i, 117. Pays a state visit to the Vezir Abdolla-qhan and swears to be a sincere friend, i, 118. His second attempt at reconciliation with the Vezir Abdolla-qhan i, 120. His new accommodation with the Vezir, i, 125. Rejects the sage counsels of Djehi-sing-sivai ; receives an artful message from his Vezir, i, 128. His moderate answer to the artful message, i, 129. His altercation with his Vezir ; retires to the seraglio for safety, i, 131. Dragged out of his seraglio and confined, i, 135. Manner of his exit related in two different ways, i, 138-141.

**FODJPAR**, or Military Governor, the duties and responsibilities

- of the office of, iii, 175-177. Districts under a, iii, 178-179.  
 Abuses and oppressions in the office of, iii, 182-183.
- FOOLEECHER, Major, (*i. e.*, Robert Fletcher) ; succeeds Major Monro ; dismissed from command in the army, ii, 574.
- FOUCK, (Fowke) Mr., appointed Chief of Benares, iii, 76.
- FRANCIS, Mr, his arrival at Calcutta in the capacity of a Director with authority to enquire into the character of the Governor, iii, 71-72. His influence on the wane, iii, 90. His differences with the Governor Hushtin (Hastings) ; his duel with the latter, iii, 128. His fresh quarrels with the Governor in matters of administration ; starts for England well-equipped with proofs to charge Governor Hastings with misdemeanours, iii, 133.
- FRENCH, The ; their defeat and loss of the factory of Cassimbazar, ii, 226. Render assistance to Hedaiet-muhi-eddin-qhan ; Nassyr-djung marches against, of Poolcherry, iii, 320. Their intrigue with Ram-das, iii, 322. Grow powerful all over Decan, iii, 353. Their quarrel with the English ; abandon the service of Salabet-djung, iii, 358. Their fortress of Poolcherry taken by the English, iii, 363.
- FULLERTON, DR., his questions to the author, ii, 434. Requested to attend the English Factory at Azim-abad, ii, 471. A prisoner at Monghyr, ii, 480. Escapes the sanguinary hands of Mir-cassem qhan ; his replies to the latter ; committed to the care of Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, ii, 506-507. Furnishes security, ii, 508. Effects his escape, ii, 510. Dismissed from service ; sets out for his country, iii, 7.
- G.**
- GAHASSITY-BIBI, eldest daughter of Aaly-verdy-qhan, extends her favour and intimacy to Hossein-cooly-qhan ; her intercession in favour of the latter successfully carried out, i, 422, and *foot-note*. Her imprisonment, ii, 186. Leagues herself with Mir-djaffer-qhan and gives him assistance, ii, 228. Prisoner at Dacca, ii, 281. Condemned to death by drowning ; meets her death heroically, ii, 370-371.
- GANGA-BISHUN, cash-keeper to Sunder-sing ; accused of concealing his master's effects ; his property confiscated, ii, 418.
- GHAIRET-QHAN, nephew to the Viceroy Hossein-aaly-qhan ; marches against the Emperor Mahmed-shah to take revenge for his uncle's murder, i, 178. His death, i, 180.
- GHAZI-EDDIN-QHAN, eldest son to Nizam-el-mulk, his title of "Lord of Lords," iii, 319. Invested with the Subadari of Decan ; his sudden death, iii, 324.
- GHOLAM-HOSSEIN-QHAN, SEYD, author of *The Seir-Mutagherin* ; marries the daughter of his grand-uncle, Abdol-aaly-qhan, i, 449. Wounded by a musket-ball, i, 460. Caressed and complimented by Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, Governor of Azim-abad, i, 463. Taken into the service of Seyd-ahmed-qhan, ii, 72. Causes set forth by, for Aaly-verdy-qhan's want of domestic happiness in the zenith of his power, ii, 121.

Introduced to Aaly verdy-qhan, ii, 124. His reflection on the murder of Hossein-cooly-qhan, ii, 125. His advice to Shaocat-djung, ii, 198-199. His opinion on Seradj-ed-dowla's letter, ii, 205. Attends Shaocat-djung in his expedition against Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 207. Introduced to the English by Mir-abdollah, ii, 270. Admitted in the service of Ramnarain; accompanies him in his expedition against Bishensing, ii, 276. His return to Azimabad, ii, 277. Suspected by Miren on account of his father's concern with Emperor Shah-aalem; clears himself, ii, 293-294. On an embassy to the Emperor, ii, 297. His faithless proposal to his father rejected by the latter, ii, 300. Suggests his scheme for the attack, ii, 310-311. His proposed expedient, ii, 319-320. His safe arrival at Benares with all his family, ii, 323. A guest of Dilir-qhan at Ticary; goes to Bahar, ii, 332. Settles at Azimabad, ii, 333. His reply to the request of Mr. Amyatt; his letter to his father, ii, 354-355. Deputed by Major Carnac to Mir-cassem-qhan; exposes the purport of the message to the Prince, ii, 395. Obtains release of his Djaghir in and about Monghyr, confiscated by Mir-djaaferr-qhan, ii, 397. Sent on a mission to Mir-cassem-qhan by Major Carnac and the other English rulers, ii, 398. Explains his errand to the Prince in his encampment at Boodgam; takes leave of him, ii, 399. Arrives at Moorshood abad; his journey to Azimabad, ii, 400. His arrival at the English camp at Bankipore; how he gets permission to quit Moorshood abad, ii, 409-411. Sees Mir-cassem-qhan; his answer to the Prince's proposal, ii, 412. Sets out for Moor-shood-abad; arrives at Calcutta; visits Mr. Amyatt, Mr. Gay and Captain Knox, ii, 413. His several attempts to gain Mr. Amyatt's mind to the cause of Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 416. Sends to Mir-cassem-qhan the details of his conversation with Mr. Amyatt; arrives at Azimabad, ii, 417. His opinion of the abilities of Gurghin-qhan and Mahmed-taky-qhan, two Generals of Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 422. Sent for by Navab Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 424. His answer to Mir-cassem-qhan's demand, ii, 425. His mission to Mr. Amyatt; his question to the latter, ii, 459. Recalled to the Court of Mir-cassem-qhan; questions put to him and his replies, ii, 460-461. Supplicates Mir-cassem-qhan on behalf of Dr. Fullerton, a prisoner at Monghyr, ii, 481. His answer to Mir-cassem-qhan's address, ii, 517. His journey to Husseinabad, an account of, ii, 529-530. Joins Shudja-ed-dowla's army at Munir-mil, ii, 531. Takes service with the Emperor Shah-aalem, ii, 535. His mission to Major Carnac; arrives at Azimabad; delivers to the Major the Emperor's letter, ii, 537. Ill success of his mission; repairs to his estate at Husseinabad, ii, 538. Written to by Major Monro to contrive to place the fortress of Rhotas in the hands of the English; his application to Radja Sahomul, ii, 553. Requested by Sahomul to accompany him to Azim-

abad; applies to Dr. Fullerton and secures a safe conduct, ii, 554. Arrives at Azim-abad, ii, 555. An attendant on Mr. Sage at Benares; his confusion and grief at the news of his father's sudden death; iii, 16. Arrives at Hussein-abad; obtains confirmation of his Djaghir's patent drawn up in his own name, iii, 17. His friendship and attachment for Colonel Goddard; his intended interview with the latter to push on a private affair, iii, 98. Commences a critical examination of the English form of Government, iii, 153-154. Discourses at length the defective system of the English administration, gives twelve causes for the declining state of these countries and suggest expedients for better government iii, 184-211. Gives a historical account of himself, his family and friends, iv, 86-95. Neglected by Mr. Middleton, iv, 104. His attack on Aoreng-zib's character ascribed to sectarian differences, iv, 126 (*foot-note*). Introduces scraps of information supplied by Hashem-aaly-qhan to fill up gaps in Aoreng-zib's history, iv, 160-164.

**GHOUSS-QHAN-MAHMED**, advocates the cause of Hadji-ahmed's liberation, i, 333. Commands the Imperial army against Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 335. His engagement with the Gentoos General Nandoo-lal; his victory, i, 337. Hears of the Viceroy Ser-esfraz-qhan's death; his astonishment and despair, i, 338. His gallantry; his death, i, 339.

**GOCOOL-CHUND**, Collector-General and Commissary of Dacca; abruptly comes to Moorshood-abad to accuse his master, Hossein-cooly-qhan; his accusation causes his master's disgrace and dismissal, i, 422. Severely handled by Hossein-cooly-qhan, i, 423.

**GODDARD, COLONEL**, a Lieutenant in the Battle of Sooty, ii, 488. His singular narrative of a wounded soldier in Mir-casseem-qhan's army, ii, 490. Prepares himself for an expedition in Decan; appointed to serve under Colonel Lesley much against his will, iii, 98. His complaints to the Council at Calcutta against Colonel Lesley backed by other officers; raised to the sole command of the army, iii, 114. On the point of effecting a junction with the Bombay army (under General Carnac) when the latter sustains a shameful defeat; arrives at Surat; gets instructions from the Council at Calcutta to fight the Marhattas, iii, 115. Admits Mirsheab-eddin *alias* Umed-el-mulk to his friendship, and gives him a pension, iii, 116. His junction with Rao Fateh-sing-caicvar; takes Azim-abad-Gudjerat by assault and delivers the city and fortress to Fateh-sing; his other successes over the Marhattas in Decan; wins over a potent ally, in the person of Raja of Gohud, iii, 117. Tired of eternal warfare; returns to Surat, iii, 119. Besieges the Marhatta fortress of Bessi (Bassein), iii, 128. Defeated by the Marhattas; his retreat, iv, 115. Reaches Bombay, iv, 116.

**GOHUD, RANA** of, becomes an ally of the English, iii, 117.

His castle taken by the English under mask of friendship, iii, 118. His other strongholds threatened with capture, iii, 134. Gets tired of the English, his new allies, and gives signs of defection ; the fortresses of Gwalior and Gohud abandoned to him by the English, iii, 137. Reduced to extremities by Scindia, iii, 138.

**GOLCONDA**, siege of, iv, 198-207. Betrayed, surprised and taken, iv, 215. Riches found in ; ancient history in connection with the fortress of, iv, 222-223.

**GOODJERT**, conquered by the Marhattas, i, 258.

**GORAN (GORING)**, Mr., promoted to the Chiefship of Moorshood-abad, iii, 75.

**GOVINDA-MUL**, entrusted with a mission by Radja Ram-narain ; brings his mission to a successful issue, ii, 258.

**GULSTON**, (GALSTAUN) Mr., his embassy to Mir-cassem-qhan ; his arrival at Monghyr, ii, 462 and *foot-note*.

**GURD-HUR, RADJA**, Governor of Malva ; his several engagements with Badji-rao ; his death, i, 258.

**GURGHIN-QHAN, alias QHADJA GURGHIN**, appointed General of Mir-cassem-qhan's artillery ; his unbounded sway over his master's mind, ii, 389. Entrusted with the duty of manufacturing guns and flint-muskets, ii, 420. Accused of treason ; his bold answer to Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 438. Intends to undertake an expedition in Nepal, ii, 446. Inspires Mir-cassem-qhan to conquer of Nepal ; marches on his intended expedition, ii, 447. His expedition miscarries, ii, 448. His return to Betia, ii, 449. His opinion on the letter and message of Governor Vansittart, ii, 455. Wants to detain a boat at Monghyr destined for the Azimabad Factory ; his advice to Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 466. Proposes to place the General Camcar-qhan in defence of Udua-nala, ii, 493. His answer upon being proposed to take command of the post at Udua-nala, ii, 493. His murder, ii, 501.

**GURU-GOVIND**, leader of the Sycs, i, 18. One of the successors of Nanec-shah, i, 82.

## H.

**HABIB-BEG**, takes service with Shaocat-djung, ii, 196. His false report of a confederacy against his master, ii, 202. Betakes himself to an expedient, ii, 203.

**HADDY-AALY-QHAN**, a physician ; his successful treatment of Aaly-verdy-qhan, ii, 107.

**HADJI-AHMED-QHAN**, brother of Aaly-verdy-qhan ; appointed a Member of the Viceregal Council of Bengal, i, 281. Loses his office of Divanship, i, 327. His cause espoused by Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 332. Reprimanded by Ser-e-fraz-qhan ; gets permission to repair to Aaly-verdy-qhan's camp, i, 333. Received with open arms by Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 335. Arrives at Moorshood-abad ; proclaims everywhere the new

Prince, his brother, Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 340. Put to torture to extort confession of his wealth ; his death and burial, ii, 39, HADJI-BEDI-EDDIN ; short history of this illustrious man, ii, 184-185.

HAIDER-AALY-QHAN, brother of Hossein-cooly-qhan, his murderer, ii, 125.

HAIDER-ABAD, Siege of, iv, 179-188.

HAIDER-BEG-QHAN, a Caboolian, some account of, iv, 102.

HAIDER-COOLY-QHAN, appointed Grandmaster of the Artillery, i, 172. Involved in the conspiracy against Hossein-aaly-qhan, i, 176. His activity and foresight, i, 178. Surrounds the Emperor Mahmed-shah's person with a numerous troop marshalled in order ; advances to attack Ghairet-qhan, i, 179. His promotion ; his title of Nasser-djung, i, 183. Appointed Governor-General of Goodjerat, i, 227. Failure of his expedition against Nizam-el-mulk, i, 240. Appointed Governor of Adjmir to chastise the refractory Radja Adjet-sing, i, 241. His death by an accident, i, 262.

HAIDER-NAIC, a Commander in the service of the French in Decan ; his surname of Naic ; takes service with the Radja of Malavar, iii, 120. Quarrels with the Divan of Malavar ; kills him and takes possession of his office ; assists Nizam-aaly-qhan against the English, and returns vanquished. iii, 121. Falls suddenly upon the English and gives them a great defeat ; compels them to enter into a treaty with him ; his treaty of peace with the Marhattas, iii, 122. His preparations for war ; his correspondence with the Ministers of the French kingdom, iii, 123. His army equipped and trained after the European model ; his conquests yield a revenue of about four corors a year ; his severe discipline, iii, 124. Regains his lost territories from the Marhattas on the conclusion of a treaty ; invades the province of Arcot, iii, 125. Beats the English under command of General Monro ; takes possession of the City of Mendradj and the fortress of Arcot and Pool-cherry, iii, 127. Inflicts a heavy defeat on General Coote ; master of everything, save the fortress of Mendradj, throughout Arcot and up to the walls of Mendradj, iii, 134.

HAIDER-QHAN, brother-in-law to Vezir Abool-mansoor qhan ; assists the latter in his action against the Rohillas ; dies fighting bravely, iii, 296.

HAMED-QHAN, Governor of Goodjerat ; rises in rebellion at the instigation of his nephew, Nizam-el-mulk, i, 248. Defeated by Ser-boolend-qhan, i, 251.

HARNUND, RADJA, a Roudja by clan ; invested with the Government of Moorad-abad and the neighbouring countries ; ordered to raise an army for subduing the Rohillah ; marches to Moorad-abad, iii, 234. Surprised in his camp by the Rohillah, iii, 235. Cut down by the Afghans while occupied in his devotions, iii, 236.

HASHEM-AALY-QHAN, a historian of the time of Aofeng-eib, iv, 159. Passages quoted from his writings, i, 140-142; iv, 160-164.

HASSEN-REZA-QHAN, his dislike to being a Prime Minister or a Deputy, iv, 102. Invested with the office of Naib or Deputy to Navab Assef-ed-dowla ; his addiction to pleasurable pursuits, iv, 103.

HAY, MR., acting Chief of the Factory of Patna during Mr. Amyatt's absence, ii, 395. His address to the author, ii, 398. His embassy to Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 454. His arrival at Monghyr, ii, 462. Kept hostage at Monghyr, ii, 466.

HAZYR-AALY-QHAN, a slave-boy to Seyd-ahmed-qhan ; declares himself Lord of Purania, ii, 251. Stands in his defence ; general desertion of his troops, ii, 255. His flight, ii, 256.

HEDAIET-AALY-QHAN, VEZIR, father of Gholam-hossein-qhan, the author ; received by the Viceroy of Azim-abad with every mark of respect ; appointed Paymaster of the province of Azim-abad, i, 358. Becomes an eye-sore to Dewan Chinta-mon-das, i, 370. Ordered to repair to the country of Narhut-semai under pretence of restoring it to order, i, 371-372. Misrepresented, i, 413. Dismissed from office, 414. Dissatisfaction and suspicions conceived against his conduct ; actions taken to rid the countries under his sway, of his influence, i, 423-424. Desired to repair to Moor-shood-abad to wipe off the stain put upon his character, i, 425. Joined by his brother, Mehdi-nessar-qhan, who resigns his service ; pays his respects to the Viceroy Abool-mansoor-qhan, who compliments him with a large pension, i, 426. Departs for the Imperial Court, i, 427. Attaches himself to Prince Shah-aalem, ii, 287. Undertakes to make war preparations for Shah-aalem, ii, 288. Joins the Emperor Shah-aalem at Benares, ii, 295. Rejects the faithless proposals of his son, the author, ii, 300. Exchange of questions and answers between him and the author, ii, 301. Accepts the advice of the author ; visited by the zemindar Pahluvan-sing, ii, 320. His Djaghiry-lands restored, ii, 329. His letter of advice to Emperor Shah-aalem, ii, 336-337. His sober advice to the Emperor, ii, 403. Visits Major Carnac ; received with honor, ii, 406. Takes leave of the Major ; returns to his estate, ii, 409. His interview with Mir-cassem-qhan ; his requests granted, ii, 424. Lives in retirement in his estate ; sends his son, Seyd-aaly-qhan, to Shitab-ray to ask certain favours, iii, 14. Takes up his residence with his family and dependents at Hossein-abad which he had founded ; dies of apoplexy, iii, 16. Some account of, iii, 264-270.

HEDAIET-MUHI-EDDIN-QHAN, nephew to Nizam-el-mulk, assumes independence on the latter's death ; defeated by his cousin, Nassyr-djung ; taken prisoner, iii, 320. Contemplates the

destruction of Himmet-qhan with the assistance of the French ; slain in an engagement with Himmet-qhan, iii, 322.

**HIBRAHIM-QHAN, alias QHALIL-OLLAH-QHAN**, General of the King of Haider-abad ; suspicions as to his conduct ; his desertion, iv, 187. Raised to the rank of seven thousand horse and decorated with the surname of Muhabbet-qhan, iv, 203.

**HIMMET-QHAN**, an Afghan General in the employ of Nassyr-djung, iii, 320. His conspiracy to murder his lord and plunder his treasures, iii, 321. His friction with Hedaiet-muhi-eddin-qhan ; slain in an engagement with the latter, iii, 322.

**HOLKAR-MALHAR**, obtains from Selabet-djung a confirmation of the grant of the countries of Qhandess, Sunk-mer and Djalima, iii, 324. His assistance sought by the Court of Delhi, iii, 327. Comes to the assistance of Mir-sheah-eddin on promise of a high pay, iii, 335. His attack on the Imperial camp under cover of night, iii, 337. Plunders the Imperial camp ; his honourable treatment of the Emperor's consort and other ladies, iii, 338. Solicits co-operation with Sooroodj-mull the Djatt Prince, iii, 380. His whole army exterminated, iii, 381.

**HOLLANDERS**, The, dispossessed by the English of their factories and settlements all over Bengal and Bahar, iv, 118.

**HOLWELL, Mr.**, appointed to officiate as Governor of Calcutta, ii, 374.

**HOOLY**, a Gentoo festival, disorders usuals in the days of, i, 263.

**HOSSEIN-AALY-QHAN**, interviews the fugitive Prince Feroh-syur, i, 42. Promises to take up Feroh-syur's cause and stand by him, i, 43-44. Organises an expedition with Feroh-syur at its head, i, 47. Sets out on his expedition, i, 48. His decorations and appointment as Paymaster-General of the Imperial force, i, 58. Undertakes an expedition against Radja Adjet-sing-Rhator, i, 67. Returns to his capital after coming to terms with the Radja, i, 68. His friction with the Emperor Feroh-syur, i, 70. Reconciled to the Emperor ; agrees to start for his Viceroyalty of Decan, i, 71. Magnificent preparations made by, on the occasion of the Emperor's nuptials, i, 76. Threatens the Emperor, i, 92. Suffers a disgraceful defeat at the hands of the Marhattas ; his authority denied by the Crown-servants, i, 109. Marches towards the capital, i, 122. His virtuous intentions exemplified by the story of a village girl i, 123. His decision on hearing the news of an accommodation between the Emperor and the Vezir ; his decision protested against, i, 126. Does not think himself a subject, i, 127. Marches through the city in battle array and takes possession of the gates and ramparts ; visits the Emperor, i, 130. His terrible message to the Vezir, i, 135. His administrative reforms i, 137-138. Takes possession of the Imperial

riches, i, 142. His character, popular estimate of, i, 143. His hot discussion with his brother, the Vezir, i, 164. Resolves on marching in person to Decan, i, 172. A conspiracy against, i, 174. His assassination, i, 176. His remains, furious combat for, i, 177.

**HOSSEIN-COOLY-QHAN**, Deputy Governor of Dacca; his dismissal; reinstated through the recommendation of Gahassity-bibi, i, 422. Invested with a new Qhylat, i, 423. His misunderstanding with Gahassity-bibi, ii, 123 and *foot-note*. His murder, ii, 125.

**HOUSE OF GOD** (*i. e.*, the Caaba or Square house within the mosque of Mecca), ii, 184 (*foot-note*).

**HOUSE OF MOURNING** (*i. e.*, the Imam-barā) ; ii, 273 (*foot-note*).

**HUSHTIN (HASTINGS)** Mr.; Bara-sahab or Governor of Arcot, appointed Governor of Calcutta; spends ninety days in perusing records; sends orders for the arrest of Mahmed-reza-qhan and Shitab-ray, iii, 39. Takes a journey to Moorshood-abad to acquire a knowledge of the affairs of Bengal; reduces the Council of twelve Members into a Committee of five Members; reduces the allowance of the young Navab Mubarce-ed-dowla from twenty-four lacs a year to sixteen, iii, 45. Commences the trial of Shitab-ray and Mahmed-reza-qhan; acquits the former with honor, iii, 47. Bestows upon Radja Calyan-sing the office of his father, Radja Shitab-ray, iii, 67. An enquiry into his conduct, administration and secrets set up by General Clavering, iii, 74-75. Justifies his own conduct against the accusations brought against him by Nand-comar and his adversaries; accuses Nand-comar of forgery, misdemeanour and crime; brings him to trial by a Grand-jury; causes his execution, iii, 78-79. Sues General Clavering before the Supreme Royal Court of Justice for attempting to take possession of the Government, iii, 89. Reorganises his Government by dismissing Clavering's officials, iii, 91. His project, iii, 96-97. His scheme meets with disapproval in the Council, iii, 98. Appoints Mr. Elliot the Ambassador in the Court of Pootah, iii, 99. His reconciliation with Mr. Francis on the reinstatement of Mahmed-reza-qhan, iii, 106-107. Interviewed by Radja Hyaliram, iii, 110. Dismisses all the Members of the Council of Azim-ahad from their shares in the Revenue-office, iii, 111. His duel with Mr. Francis; gets intelligence of English reverses in the Decan, iii, 128. Engages General Coote to take command of the army at Mendradj; borrows a large sum of money from the wealthy Bengalees of Calcutta, iii, 129. In a great crisis; contemplates a friendly alliance with Nedjef-qhan and Emperor Shah-aalem, iv, 116. His admirable fortitude and character; makes a progress into Hindostan; dispossesses the Hollanders of their factories and settlements all over Bengal and Bahar, iv, 117-119. .

**HYALIRAM**, *Rauja*, becomes the disposer of all matters in the districts of Chayn-poor, Sarsoram and Seress-cotumbah under promise of presenting Mr. Neek with a large sum of money ; incurs the displeasure of Mr. Neek and gets into trouble ; applies to Governor Hushtin for an audience, iii, 109. Interviews the Governor through the mediation of Calyan-sing ; discloses certain secrets and accuses the Council of Aziin-abad of enormous infidelities in the management of finances ; invested with full powers in the management of finances, iii, 110. Complains against his colleague, Radja Calyan-sing, to Governor Hushtin, iii, 111. Bright side of his character as illustrated by an affecting little story, iii, 112-113.

## I.

**ILLAH-ABAD** ; threatened with a siege, i, 148. Siege of, draws to a length, i, 149. Its Governor submits ; terms and conclusion of the treaty of, i, 150.

**IMAM-BAQSH**, a worthless slave-boy of the worst morals ; made a Commander, iv, 98. His banishment ; confiscation of his property, iv, 99.

**IMTIAZ-MAHAL-BEGUM**, *alias LAL-COAR*, mistress of the Emperor Djehandar-shah, i, 35. Her influence over the Emperor, i, 36.

**INDIA**, character of its people and soil, iii, 157-158. Paternal affection of its Princes for their subjects, iii, 159. Its Emperors and Princes act as Judges in civil cases, iii, 169. Direct communication between its Emperors and people, iii, 173. Prosperous condition of its people under the native rulers, iii, 179. Causes assigned for its decline under the British rule, iii, 191-211.

**INTYZAM-ED-DOWLA**, son of Camer-eddin-qhan, receives the office of the second Paymaster and Fodjar of Moorad-abad, iii, 286. Joins the Emperor in his operations against the Vezir, iii, 329-330. The Vezir-ship conferred upon him, iii, 332. In league with the Empress-mother, iii, 337. Dismissed from office, iii, 339. Murdered by his nephew, Umad-el-mulk, iii, 374.

**IREDJ-QHAN**, obtains leave to retire to Shah-djehan-abad to provide for his safety, iv, 70. His attendance at Court requested ; wants a safe conduct for his person, honour and fortune ; made a Prime Minister ; his secret resentment for the family of the deceased Minister Mooqhtar-ed-dowla, iv, 95. His threatening words to John Bristow ; his sudden death ; succeeded by Hassen-reza qhan, iv, 100.

**ISMAIL-BEG-QHAN**, a General under Abool-mansoor-qhan ; resolves to seize the family of Ahmed-qhan-Rohilla, iii, 294. His gallant fight, iii, 295.

**ISSAC-QHAN**, makes his appearance in the administration and endears himself to the Emperor Mahmed-shah ; the dignity of *Mahi* bestowed upon, i, 318. His hesitation in giving his impartial opinion on a point of importance ; prevailed upon

by the Emperor to give his views on the advisability of removing Camer-eddin-qhan and Nizam-el-mulk from the Ministry, i, 320-321. Held in the highest esteem by the Emperor and his nobles, i, 322. Obtains new honours and new emoluments, iii, 216. His death ; his sons receive Imperial favours, iii, 217.

**J.**

JOHNSTON, Captain ; his embassy to Mir-cassem-qhan ; his arrival at Monghyr, ii, 462.

JOHNSTONE (DJONSON) Mr., Chief of Bardevan ; orders Nedjm-ed-dowlia to take his seat in the mesned of sovereignty ; receives a sum of money from the latter as a present, iii, 3. His act of taking money undergoes a severe criticism as being improper and unjustifiable ; his resignation ; his bold reply to the orders of Lord Clive, iii, 5. Returns home, iii, 6.

**K.**

KISHUN-BOHLLUB, son of Radja Rādj-bohllub ; his escape to Calcutta, ii, 188.

KNOX, Captain, brings up in an incredibly short space of time a detachment from Bardevan, ii, 351. His arrival at Mr. Amyatt's, ii, 352. Surprises Camcar-qhan in his camp ; his triumph, ii, 353. Joined by Shitab-ray with his force, ii, 358. His proposed night attack ; his night march ; returns to his camp, ii, 359. Attacked by Qhadum-hassen-qhan, ii, 360. His victory, ii, 361. Returns to Azim-abad, ii, 362.

KYRET-CHUND, RADJA, successor to Biru-dutt, Prime Minister to Aaly-verdy qhan ; recovers an immense balance ; his death, ii, 115.

**L.**

LALLY, Colonel, Commander of Shaocat-djung's artillery ; his confinement ; his banishment, ii, 199. Invited by Seradj-ed-dowla ; goes to Moorshood-abad, ii, 203.

LANCA, (the modern Ceylon) ; its origin, geographical position and ancient history, iv, 8-9 (*foot-note*).

LASS, Moosher (MONSIEUR LAW), a French Commander, marches to Moorshood-abad and takes service with Seradj-ed-dowlah ; his advice to the latter, ii, 226. His prediction ; his departure for Azim-abad, ii, 227. Arrives at Azim-abad and learns all about Seradj-ed dowlah ; his retreat beyond the Keremnassa, ii, 236. In the Imperial camp ; visits Mahmed-cooly-qhan ; visits the Emperor Shah-aalem, ii, 318. At Salerseram ; complains of the Grandees of Hindostan ; proceeds in his journey, ii, 319. Invited by the Emperor Shah-aalem ; arrives in the neighbourhood of Azim-abad ; complimented by Radja Ram-narain, ii, 347. Decamps ; arrives at Bahar, ii, 348. His defeat at the battle of Gaya-manpur, ii, 401. His surrender ii, 402.

LESLEY, Colonel, appointed to command in the Decan expedition, iii, 98. His incapacity ; sets out in his expedition

to Decan against the Marhattas, iii, 99. His thoughtlessness, unpopularity and death, iii, 114.

**LETAFET-AALY-QHAN**, a eunuch Commander ; some account of, iv, 85.

**LOOTF-EN-NESSA**, a bond-maid and favourite of Seradj-ed-dowlah, ii, 94 (*foot-note*).

**LUSHINGTON**, Mr., second to Mr. Ellis, Chief of Azimabad factory ; escorts Shitab-ray in Shudja-ed-dowla's dominions ; returns to Azimabad, ii, 420.

## M.

**MACGUIRE**, Mr., Chief of the English Factory at Azimabad ; ii, 408.

**MADINA**, the Hindu Prime Minister of the King of Haiderabad ; suspects the conduct of Hibrahim-qhan, iv, 187. Turned out of his office in pursuance of the terms of the treaty ; murdered along with his brother without the knowledge of the King of Haider-abad, iv, 189.

**MAHBOOB-AALY-QHAN**, a eunuch Commander ; confounded and at a loss how to act, iv, 82. Surprised by the English in his camp, iv, 84. Repairs to the Court of Assef-ed-dowla ; treated with kindness by the latter, iv, 85.

**MAHI**, or fish, insignia of the, i, 200 (*foot-note*).

**MAHMED-AALY-QHAN**, a Commander of character ; sent to Nevor-ray's assistance, iii. 291. Wounded with a musket-ball, iii, 296.

**MAHMED-AAREF**, Moluvy ; some account of, ii, 168.

**MAHMEL-AMIN-QHAN**, his arrival at the camp of Hossein-aaly-qhan, the Viceroy, i, 133. Confirmed in his post of second Paymaster, i, 137. In league with the Emperor Mahmed-shah, i, 152-153. His life aimed at ; stands on his guard, i, 165. Conspires at the overthrow of the Viceroy, i, 176. His anxiety for the Emperor's safety, i, 178. His decorations, i, 183. His death ; his aversion to the Prophet, i, 222. His peculiar religious notions, i, 223-224.

**MAHMED-ASSAC**, the Cutval ; compelled to surrender his effects to Navab Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 419.

**MAHMED-COOLY-QHAN**, Prince of Illahabad ; his ambitious views ; imparts his scheme to Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 283. Encouraged by Shudja-ed-dowla ; invites Prince Shah-aalem, ii, 284. Imparts his scheme to the Prince ; gains over to his side the Grandees of the Prince's court, ii, 289. Deceived by Shudja-ed-dowla ; joins Prince Shah-aalem and sets out in his expedition, ii, 290. Leaves Benares, ii, 291. Marches to Azimabad, ii, 292. Pitches his tent on the plain of Poolvary, ii, 300. Visited by Radja Ram-narain ; his eulogium of the Radja to Prince Shah-aalem, ii, 301. Adopts Ram-narain's proposed expedient ; encamps at Djaafer-qhan's garden, ii, 306. Receives an insulting message from Ram-narain, ii, 307. Requests Prince Shah-aalem's help to chastise Ram-narain ; prepares for

an attack, ii, 308. Wishes to send the author on an embassy to Ram-narain, ii, 311. Exchange of questions and answers between him and the author, ii, 312-313. Changes his encampment, ii, 315. Assaults Mehdy-gundj Tower, ii, 316. Gets intelligence of the approach of the Bengal army and the loss of his fortress of Illah-abad ; resolves to abandon the siege, ii, 317. Requested by Shah-aalem and Moosher Lass to defer his departure ; decamps, ii, 318. At Saherseram, ii, 319. His encampment at the town of Seyd-radja ; opposed by Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 322. Gets permission to repair to Shudja-ed-dowla's court, ii, 323. His effects seized and his camp plundered, ii, 324. His confinement, ii, 326.

**MAHMED-MORAD, alias YTICAD-QHAN**, a Cashmirian of notorious character ; wins the favour and friendship of the Emperor Feroh-syur ; decorated with titles and honours ; suggests expedients for the seizure of Abdollah-qhan and the demolition of Hossein-aaly-qhan, i, 115. Taken out of the castle by order of the Vezir, i, 131. His palace ransacked, i, 137.

**MAHMED-QHAN-BANGASH**, Governor of Illah-abad, styled Ghazener-djung ; assembles an army for the conquest of Bundelcund, i, 260. Besieged in the fort of Djeit-gur ; rescued by his son ; deprived of his Government of Illah-abad, i, 261.

**MAHMED-REZA QIAN**, Governor of Djehanghir-nagur-Dacca ; dismissed from office ; brought a prisoner to Moors hood-abad, ii, 557. His rise on the downfall of Nand-comer ; rises in the favour and good graces of Lord Clive ; recommended to the Deputy-ship of Navab Nedjm-ed-dowla ; his decorations and titles, iii, 4. Sent to Azim-abad, to recover from Durdj-narain and other officials the balances due to the English ; his stringent measures to realise the Government dues, iii, 22. His intrigues with Menny-begum and Babboo-begum, iii, 26. Threatened with an arrest, iii, 39. His palace attacked ; his submission, iii, 40. Divested of all control over the Imperial revenue, iii, 43. Forsaken and neglected, iii, 67. His cause taken up by Aaly-hibrahim-qhan who secures his release, iii, 68-69. Joins the party of General Clavering ; rejects the sober advice of Aaly-hibrahim-qhan ; gets the office of Deputy to Mubarec-ed-dowla and the general Fodj-dary, iii, 80. His breach with Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, ii, 83. His disgrace, dismissal and downfall, iii, 91. Dark and severe hints against him, iii, 94. Appropriates the wealth of Rabia-begum, iii, 102. In office again for the third time, iii, 107. His private life, character and family, iii, 148-150.

**MAHMED-SHAH, EMPEROR, alias Roshen-aghter**, ascends the throne, i, 145. Closely watched by the Vezir, i, 147. His secret satisfaction at the failure of operations conducted by the Seid Brothers, Hossein-aaly-qhan and Abdollah-qhan, against Nizam-el-mulk, i, 163. His lenity to the vanquished, i, 182. His distribution of offices, i, 183. In the field

**of battle**, i, 193. His pompous entry into the capital, i, 200. His refusal to appropriate the late Vezir Mahmed-aamin-qhan's estate, i, 205. Promotion of his nobles, i, 227-228. Renders his person accessible to the cause of justice, i, 230. Pompous celebration of his marriage, i, 236. A daughter and a son born to him, i, 241. His Imperial name suffers in the estimation of his people, i, 245. Sets out on an expedition against the Marhattas under pretence of a hunting party, i, 265. Consents to pay a tribute to the Marhattas, i, 294. Marches out slowly to oppose Nadyr-shah; inactivity of his Generals, i, 308-309. Ignominious defeat of his General Saadat-qhan, i, 311. His reception by Nadyr-shah, i, 312. A tool in the hands of Nadyr-shah; obeys the latter's commands, i, 314. Reorganises his administration, i, 318-319. In conference with his Councillors on a point of importance, i, 320-321. Congratulates Aaly-verdy-qhan upon his successful operations against the Marhattas and decorates him with new titles, i, 407. A brief review of the latter part of his reign, iii, 215-232. His march against the overbearing Rohilla, Aaly-mahmed-qhan, iii, 237. His victorious return to the capital, iii, 238. Disgusted with his Minister, Emir-qhan, iii, 244-245. Appoints a desperado to murder Emir-qhan, iii, 246. Sends his son, Ahmed-shah, at the head of an army to oppose Ahmed-abdali, iii, 260. His joy at the news of victory over the Abdali, iii, 262. His death, iii, 263. His burial, iii, 264. A brief sketch of his character and administration, iii, 281.

**MAHMED-TAKY-QHAN**, General; appointed Fodjdar of Birbohum; ordered to raise men and discipline only such as may prove serviceable; discharges his duties with the greatest ability, ii, 421. Entrusted with an order by Navab Mir-casseem-qhan; goes to Moorshoodabad, and executes the order, ii, 456. Encamps at Cutwa, ii, 477. Disunion between him and Seyd-mahmed-qhan, Deputy Governor of Moorshoodabad; outcome of the disunion, ii, 482. Takes the field of battle only with his own trained soldiers; wounded by a cannon-ball, ii, 484. His undaunted bravery; his death, ii, 485.

**MAHMED-YAR-QHAN**, an officer of great resolution; a curious anecdote of, iii, 227-229.

**MAHMEDY-BEG**, undertakes to murder Seradj-ed-dowla; murders him, ii, 242.

**MAHMOOD**, hermaphrodite, ii, 160 (*foot-note*.)

**MAHMOON-QHAN**, son of Ahmed-qhan-bangash; sent by his father for the conquest of Aood, iii, 298. Encamps in the neighbourhood of Belgram; sends one of his uncles with a considerable force towards Lucknow, iii, 300. Receives vigorous opposition in the hands of Sheh-muezz-eddin; his Afghan troops defeated in a brisk action, iii, 302. His retreat, iii, 303. Renders assistance to his father, iii, 306.

**MAHOMET**, the Prince of Prophets; his method of conversion;

propagation of his religion by the sword contradicted, iv, 143-144 (*foot-note*).

**MALEC-DJIVEN**, a powerful Zemindar ; his ungrateful dealings, iv, 131. Treacherously imprisons his benefactor, the Prince Dara-shicoh, iv, 132. Assumes the name of Baqht-yar-qhan, iv, 133. Popular hootings and curses against, iv, 134.

**MALEKA-ZEMANI**, Empress-consort of Mahomed-shah ; brought to bed of a mole of female appearance, i, 238. Quarrels with the Vezir Umed el-mulk, iii, 351. Quits the country with Saheba-mahal to take protection with the Abdali-king, iii, 352.

**MANICK-CHUND** ; entrusted with the charge of Seradj-ed-dowla's new conquests in Calcutta, ii, 192. Attacked by Colonel Clive ; his flight, ii, 221.

**MANSARAM-SAHOO**, an eminent banker ; accused of concealing Sunder-sing's effects ; his properties confiscated by Navab Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 418.

**MAN-SING, RADJA** ; brings the enemy to a stand in the Siege of Haider-abad, iv, 183.

**MARCAR**, an Armenian General ; ordered to go to Moor-shoodabad to execute an order ; executes the order, ii, 456-457.

**MARIHATTAS**, The, establish a tribute all over the Deccan, i, 111-112. A body of their horse destroyed by a mob, i, 133. Defeated in the bloody battle of Cambaye, i, 252. The dominion of Malva passes into their hands, i, 258. Encroach on the Imperial territory, i, 260. Possessed of all the territories as far as Gwalior, i, 266. Their encroachments kept up in the very face of the opposing General Muzafer-qhan, i, 267. Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan with a numerous army marches against, i, 286. Defeated by Saadet-qhan, i, 289. An immense booty made by, in the town of Toghlooc-poor, i, 291. Utterly destroy the town of Rivari and Batoodi, i, 293. Invade Bengal, i, 375. Engage in eternal skirmishes ; harass Aaly-verdy-qhan in every possible way, i, 387. Ravage all Bengal south of the Ganga, i, 395. Severely handled by Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 403-404. Pursued from Cutwa to Oressa ; resolve to make a determined stand, i, 405. Evacuate Bengal, i, 437. Form a confederacy against the English, iii, 118-119. Plunder Feroh-abad the Rohillah centre, iii, 306. Receive the whole country from Nevol and Djailissar, down to Feroh-abad and Cannodje, as reward for their services to Abool-mansoor-qhan, iii, 307. The province of Qhandess passes into their hands, iii, 329. Take possession of the fortress of Ahmed-nagur, iii, 357. The fortress of Bidjapoor, Dowlet-abad and Assir ceded to them, iii, 359. Resolve to conquer Hindostan, iii, 371. Attack Rohilcund, iii, 372. Severely handled by Shudja-ed-dowla's army, iii, 373. Undertake an expediton to Pendjab ; their conquest of Lahore, iii, 377. Worsted by the Abdali-king at the Battle of Badely, iii, 379. Complete extermination of, iii, 381. Undismayed by repeated reverses, send another

mighty army to recover their national honour, iii, 382-383. Delhi taken by, iii, 384. Lay their sacrilegious hands upon consecrated articles of their opponents, iii, 385. Entrench themselves in the field of Panipoot, iii, 387. Besieged in their own entrenchment; engaged in a furious combat, iii, 388. Suffer from famine; resolve to come to a pitched battle, iii, 389. Engage in a fierce encounter, iii, 390. Their defeat in the Battle of Panipoot, iii, 391. Storming of Aoreng-abad by, iii, 399. Their origin; a curious historical account of, iv, 10-12. Enforce the grant of *Des-mookhi* and *Chout*, iv, 18. Circumstances that lead to their occupation of Malva and Goodjerat, iv, 19. Their insatiable ambition, iv, 23. Their way of living; their singular temper and customs, iv, 24-25. Their war against the English; General Goddard defeated by them, iv, 115. Compel Colonel Camac to a retreat, iv, 116. Defeated by Emperor Aoreng-zib in the famous battle of Harsol, iv, 161. Their fortresses and country attacked by Aoreng-zib; surrender their fortress of Salir, iv, 169.

MASCAT, King of, his base and treacherous conduct towards Prince Ecber, iv, 154. Frightened beyond his wits on receipt of a threatening letter from the Sefian Emperor; sets free Prince Ecber, iv, 155.

MAXWELL, Mr., appointed Chief of Azimabad, iii, 108. Seizes the factories and settlements of the Hollanders, iv, 118.

MEDAR-ED-DOWLA, a Grandee of Prince Shah-aalem's court; his embassy to Radja Ram-narain, ii, 297.

MEDEC, Moosher, his altercation with the English Commander in Mir-djaaser-qhan's army; takes service with Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 524.

MEHDI-NESSAR-QHAN, maternal-uncle of the author; finds favour with the Viceroy of Bengal; receives the office of Paymaster-General, a qhylaat, and other presents, i, 374-375. Receives an order from the Governor of Azimabad, i, 453. His alertness and activity in the engagement against Mustophaqhan, i, 458. Falls out of favour with Seyd-ahmed-qhan and goes to Moorshood-abad; takes service with Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 86. His advice to Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 92. Resigns his service; repairs to Azimabad, ii, 93. Precautionary measures taken by; advice given to, by the author's mother, ii, 97. His unshaken resolution; his meeting with Seradj-ed-dowla in Djaaser-qhan's garden; warning given by, to the latter, ii, 99. His sober advice to Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 100. Marches to Azimabad, ii, 101. His combat with Mehta-djesvent-nagur; his death, ii, 104. His burial, ii, 105.

MEHTA-DJESVENT-NAGUR, an officer of renown in Zim-eddin-ahmed-qhan's service; dangerously wounded in his rash attempt to join Aaly-verdy-qhan's troops, ii, 12. His combat with Mehdi-nessar-qhan; his victory, ii, 104.

MENNY BEGUM, mother of Seif-ed-dowla; in close intimacy with Mahmed-reza-qhan; quarrels with her rival Babboo-begum, iii, 26. Her endeavours to release Mahmed-reza-qhan; appointed tutrix to Prince Mubarec-ed dowla; invested with absolute direction over the household of the Prince; appoints a eunuch as her Naib or Deputy, iii, 41. Disposal of Mubarec-ed-dowla's allowance of sixteen lacs left to her discretion, iii, 45. Deprived of her sway over Navab Mubarec-ed-dowla, iii, 76. Her scheme for wresting from Sadr-el-hac-qhan the Divanship to Mubarce-ed-dowla, iii, 92. An estimate of her character, iii, 147-148.

MIDDLETON, Mr., Chief of Moorsheed-abad; instals in conjunction with Mr. Johnstone, the young Navab Nedjm-ed-dowla to the mesned of Sovereignty; receives as reward a large sum of money, iii, 3. His conduct severely criticised by Lord Clive; his resignation; his bold reply to Clive's orders, iii, 5. Addicts himself to a mercantile life; re-enters the Company's service as Chief of Moorshoood-abad; dies at Painty where his monument may be seen, iii, 6. Appointed Resident at Lucknow by Governor Hushtin (Warren Hastings), iv, 74.

MIR-AALY-ASHGAR-KOBRA, his parentage, ii, 20. Anecdote of his youth, ii, 21. Invited by Ata-ollah-qhan; his pompous entry into Azim-abad, ii, 22. Joins Ata-ollah-qhan with his troops; his gallantry ii, 24. Pays his respects to Aaly-verdy-qhan, ii, 25. His banishment, ii, 28. His difficult situation, ii, 29.

MIR-ABBOO, takes service with Navab Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 508. Rises into high favour with his master, ii, 509. Sets out to attack the English; his flight, ii, 511.

MIR-ABDULLAH, some account of; his connection with the English, ii, 269. Takes service with Radja Ram-narain, ii, 270. Saves the life of his master, ii, 340.

MIR-ABDOL-AZIZ, goes to Radja Dooloobram's court with the news of the invasion of Oressa; remonstrates with the Radja upon his cowardice, and carries him to the fortress of Bara-bhati, ii, 3. Declines to vote in favour of a surrender, ii, 4. The defence of the fortress assumed by; sustains a vigorous siege, ii, 5. Surrenders the fortress on certain terms, ii, 6. Promoted to the command of a Brigade, ii, 15.

MIR-ABDOL-HADY, his death; some account of, ii, 150-151.

MIR-ABDOL-MAALY, sent with a message to Aaly-verdy-qhan, ii, 29. Brings his mission to a successful issue, ii, 30.

MIR-BAHADYR-AALY, heroic behaviour of, iv, 72.

MIR-CASSEM-QUAN, arrests Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 239. Gets possession of Loots-en-nessa's casket of jewels, ii, 240. Encamps on the river Damoodar; apprised of his danger; joins with the army of Navab Mir-djaafar-qhan, ii, 346. His parentage and relationship with Mir-djaafar-qhan, ii, 374. Deputed on a commission to Calcutta; gains the good will

of his father-in-law, Mir-djaasfer-qhan, by the success of his commission ; pacifies his father-in-law's army who were clamorous for their pay, ii, 375. His instructions to Aaly-hibrahim-qhan ; his second voyage to Calcutta, ii, 376. His discourse with Governor Vansittart about the disorderly state of his father-in-law's government, ii, 379. His pompous entry into Moorshood-abad ; visits his father-in-law, ii, 381. Sees Governor Vansittart at Moorad-bagh ; communicates his fears to the Governor ; his consultation with Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, ii, 382. His approval of Aaly-hibrahim-qhan's advice ; his views underhand favorised by the two Djagat-seats ; exposes the difficulty of his situation to the Governor, ii, 383. Takes leave of the Governor ; meets the Governor with Mr. Hushtin and some other gentlemen at Mir-djaasfer-qhan's palace ; stops at the Nacar-qhana surrounded by his people, ii, 384. Appointed Navab of Bengal, Bahar and Oressa, ii, 385. Procures titles from the Imperial Court ; a son is born to him, but dies prematurely : raises his relatives to honor and dignity, ii, 387. His stipulation with the Court of Calcutta confirmed and agreed to anew ; measures taken by him to re-establish the finances and to settle the government of his country, ii, 388. Appoints Gurghin-qhan General of his artillery ; directs him to discipline the musketeers in his service after the English manner, ii, 389. Favour shewn by him to Mir-shems-eddin ; his amazement at the emptiness of his treasury, ii, 390. Makes over to the English the whole province of Bardevan, and places in their hands his own jewels ; satisfies his troops by paying them the greater part of their arrears ; receives a sum of money from the Djagat-seats ; curtails his own private expenses ; gets possession of vast sums of money by confiscating the effects of Chunny-lal and Moony-lal, ii, 391. Amasses an incredible sum of money ; puts his army under a proper regulation ; turns his views towards bringing out the Zemindars under a thorough submission, ii, 393. Demands something above the usual rent from Assed-zeman-qhan, Zemindar of Birbohom, ii, 394. Encamps at Boogam ; sends Qhodja mahmedi-qhan with Major York and Gurghin-qhan to chastise the Zemindar, ii, 395. His victory over the Zemindar, ii, 396. His reception of the author, deputed by Major Carnac ; objects to his going to Azim-abad ; his change of behaviour to the author on the insinuation of Djagat-seat's agent ; dismisses the author, ii, 399. Encamps about Djaafer-qhan's garden ; pays homage to Emperor Shah-aalem in the English Factory of Azim-abad, ii, 407. Agrees to pay to the Emperor an annual tribute of twenty-four lacs of rupees ; returns to his encampment, ii, 408. His proposal to author, ii, 412. Provides the author with the necessary uses for his voyage to Calcutta, ii, 413. His letters

to the Council at Calcutta and to Governor Vansittart ; engages Mr. Macguire to write against Ram-narain, ii, 415. His complaint to the Council at Calcutta about General Coote's intrusion, ii, 416. Obtains consent of the English Council to bring Ram-narain under his control ; examines Ram-narain's accounts of his long administration, ii, 417. Amasses immense sums by confiscations, ii, 418-419. Orders Shitab-ray to render an account of his three offices ; his consent to the account being examined by the English Council at Calcutta ; introduces orders in every branch of the administration, ii, 420. Manufactures guns and flint-muskets ; provides himself with several able Generals, ii, 421. His reception of Hedaiet-aaly-qhan ; complies with his requests, ii, 424. Demands the author's Djaghiry-estate at Monghyr ; departs for Saher-seram, ii, 425. His suspicious government interrupts all social intercourse, ii, 427. Executes Sheh-saad-ollah, Radja Sitaram and three spies on mere suspicion ; sends his excuses for the five executions to the English Council at Calcutta, ii, 429. Visits the fortress of Rhotas ; puts Saho-mul, the Deputy Governor of the fortress, under confinement ; appoints Mir-mehdi-qhan to command in the District of Saher-seram, ii, 430. Puts Radj-boohloob under confinement and confiscates his property ; appoints Nobet-ray in his stead ; his entry into the citadel of Azim-abad ; goes to Monghyr, ii, 431. Makes Monghyr the Capital of his dominions ; his great abilities ; his method of dispensing justice ; his charitable distributions, ii, 432-433. His patronage of merit ; his regard for the virtuous ; his regularity in paying the troops, ii, 434. His uncertain disposition ; his demonstrations of kindness to the author, ii, 435. Changes at his Court, ii, 436. Sends Bahadyr-aaly-qhan to chastise the Zeminder of Betiah ; his title of Aaly-djah, ii, 437. Informed of General Gurghin-qhan's treason ; imparts his information to the General, ii, 438. Orders the arrest of Rohim-ollah-qhan, the best archer in his army, ii, 439. His barbarous treatment of Rohim-ollah qhan, ii, 440. His sentence of death on Chitamon-das ; his examination of Bereket-aaly, Mahmed-aaly, Ferhad-aaly, and Sheh-abdollah, ii, 441. His sentence of death upon Sheh-abdollah, ii, 442. His reception of Governor Vansittart ; his return visit to the Governor, ii, 443. Entertains the Governer with a military exhibition, ii, 444. His proposal regarding the imposition of customs duties upon all goods of the English private traders, ii, 445. Prevailed upon by Gurghin-qhan to undertake an expedition to Nepal ; commences his march, ii, 447. His arrival at Betiah ; sends Aaly-hibrahim-qhan to bring back Gurghin-qhan, ii, 448. Marches towards Azim-abad ; informed of the bold steps taken by the English mercantile Agents ; his expedient to save the honor of his Government ; marches towards Monghyr, ii, 449. Ordered by Governor

Vansittart to hold all English goods duty-free and to set at liberty his English prisoners ; his letter to the Governor, ii, 453. Refers Governor Vansittart's letter and message to his General Gurghin-qhan for opinion ; determines to abide by the General's advice, ii, 455. Thinks it incumbent upon him to have the Djagat-seats in his power ; his order to Mahmed-taky-qhan ; sends Marcar, the Armenian General to Moorsood-abad with instructions, ii, 456. His reception of the Djagat-seat brothers ; requests their residing at Monghyr, ii, 457. Sends the author and Mir-abdollah-sesevi on a commission to Mr. Amyatt, ii, 458. Recalls the author and Mir-abdollah-sesevi to his court, ii, 460. Sends Abu-aaly-qhan and Radja Nobet-ray for Mr. Amyatt's reception, ii, 461. His reception of Mr. Amyatt ; offends him and his party by some actions, ii, 462-463. Keeps Mr. Hay as hostage at Monghyr, ii, 466. Azim-abad lost for him, ii, 472. Recovers Azim-abad, ii, 473. Mr. Ellis and his followers made prisoners of, ii, 474. His circular letters, ii, 475. Mr. Amyatt's head sent to him ; English factory at Cossim-bazar plundered by the people of ; sends a large detachment commanded by Generals Djaafer-qhan, Alem-qhan and Mir-habiet-ullah ; orders the Generals to oppose the English conjointly with Mahmed-taky-qhan, ii, 476-477. His order to Sheh-ferhad-aaly regarding the prisoner Doctor Fullerton, ii, 481. His Generals Alem-qhan and Haibet-ullah defeated by the English, ii, 483. His defeat at the battle of Catwa, ii, 485. His arrangement to attack the English in the plain of Sooty, ii, 486. His defeat at the battle of Sooty, ii, 489. Sends his family and treasures to the fortress of Rhotas, ii, 491. Fortifies the post of Udua ; condemns to death certain prisoners of State, ii, 492. His arrival at Champa-nagur ; takes into his service Camcar-qhan, ii, 493. Proposes the command of Udua-nala to Gurghin-qhan ; receives Mirza-nedjef-qhan in his service and sends him to join the defenders of Udua-nala, ii, 495. Negligence of duty of the Generals of, ii, 496. His defeat at Udua-nala, ii, 498. Returns to Monghyr ; reviews his troops ; applied to by Aaly-hbrahim-qhan to release the English prisoners, ii, 499. Marches towards Azim-abad with his English prisoners, ii, 500. Takes his post on the bank of the Rehva ; his General Gurghin-qhan murdered, ii, 501. General confusion in his camp, ii, 502. Advances to the town of Barr ; orders the Djagat-seat brothers to be murdered ; lodges at Djaafer-qhan's garden, ii, 504. Condemns to death all the English prisoners, ii, 505. His discourse with Doctor Fullerton ; commits the Doctor to the care of Aaly-hbrahim-qhan, ii, 506-507. Dispossessed of the fortress of Monghyr ; encamps at Bucrem, ii, 508. Loses the citadel of Azim-abad, ii, 510. Marches to Muhib-aaly-poor ; deserted by his Generals, ii, 511. Encamps at

Nelitoo ; his objection to the advice of Mirza-nedjel-qhan ; marches to Saherseram, ii, 512-513. Dismisses Nedjef-qhan with a present ; receives a favourable letter from his agent at Shudja-ed-dowla's court ; flies to Radja Balvandsing's country, ii, 514. Revolution in his Government of Puraniah in favour of the English, ii, 514-516. Infamous hypocrisy of Mir-suleiman, his steward, ii, 518. Proceeds to the camp of the Emperor Shah-aalem and Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 519. Marches to Illah-abad ; visited by Shudja-ed-dowla ; accepts his advice to see the Emperor, ii, 521. Pays his respects to the Emperor ; returns to his quarters ; visits Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 522. His pressing message to Shudja-ed-dowla for an expedition against the English ; undertakes to bring under control the Radja of Bundelcund, ii, 523. Encamps at Benares ; his agreement, the terms of, with the Emperor and Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 524. Crosses the Ganga ; marches through Radja Balvandsing's country, ii, 525. Enters Azimabad, ii, 528. His retreating troops attacked by a Captain of the English army ; his precipitate retreat, ii, 534. His message to Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 538. Receives a message from Shudja-ed-dowla on account of the monthly payment due by him ; excuses himself on his impotence ; his complaints against Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 540. Sends Aaly-hibrahim-qhan with a message to Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 541. Turns Fakir in despair, ii, 542. Visited by Shudja-ed-dowla ; re-assumes his usual dress, ii, 545. Carried prisoner to Shudja-ed-dowlah's camp, ii, 546. His whole property traced and confiscated by Shudja-ed-dowla with the exception of a few jewels of high value, ii, 552. Set at liberty by Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 568. Makes his escape, ii, 569. Flies to Berheily, ii, 572. Forsaken by his servants, iv, 50. Dies in the utmost poverty and distress, iv, 51.

**MIR-CAZEM-QHAN**, his gallantry, ii, 55. His representation to Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 215. His message to Radja Ramnarain, ii, 248. His letter to Mir-djaaffer-qhan, ii, 249. His abrupt visit to Ram-narain ; sends two envoys to pacify the latter's mind, ii, 250. Ordered to attend Qhadum-hossein-qhan, ii, 254. His arrival at Puraniah with his force ; his visit to Qhadum-hossein-qhan, ii, 256. Returns to his camp at Radj-mahl, ii, 257. His participation in a conspiracy against Mir-djaaffer-qhan, ii, 272. Swears to his innocence ; retires from office, ii, 274. His taking part in paper-kite amusements with Miren, ii, 279. His murder, ii, 280.

**MIR-CAZEM-QHAN**, his installation as Viceroy of Bahar by order of Mr. Billers, Chief of Azimabad, iii, 7. His incapacity, iii, 8. Dismissed on a yearly pension of one lack of Rupees, iii, 11.

**MIR-DJAAFER-QHAN**, appointed Deputy to Seyd-ahmed-qhan, Governor of Oressa ; departs for Catec and defeats a body of Marhattas and Afghans, ii, 23. His precipitate

retreat, ii, 24. Falls into the plot of Ata-ollah-qhan ; sharply reprimanded by Aaly-verdy-qhan, ii, 25. His unbecoming reception of Aaly-verdy-qhan, ii, 26. Deprived of his Fodjdary of Hedjly and his Paymaster's office ; repairs to Moorshood-abad and applies to Nevazish-mahmed-qhan for protection, ii, 27. The office of Paymaster-General restored to him, ii, 47. Compelled to dismiss his own brother, Mir Ismail, from the office of Deputy Paymaster, and appoint Qhadja Haddy-qhan in his stead, ii, 91. Again loses his office of Paymaster-General, ii, 186. Foremost amongst the malcontents ; his letter to Shaocat-djung, ii, 196. Assembles secretly in his house a respectable force ; enters into a secret treaty with the English, ii, 228-229. His conduct at the Battle of Palassy, ii, 231. His interview with Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 232. His advice to Seradj-ed-dowla ; his cold answer to the latter, ii, 233. His interview with Colonel Clive and with the English Rulers ; his march to Moorshood-abad ; informed of Seradj-ed-dowla's flight, ii, 236. Takes possession of Seradj-ed-dowla's palace of Mansoor-gundj ; proclaims himself Navab, ii, 237. New title assumed by ; his Circular, ii, 238. Sends Mir-cassem-qhan with a force to intercept Seradj-ed-dowla ; his letter to Mir Daood, ii, 239. His addiction to *bang* ; his ignorance of Seradj-ed-dowla's murder, ii, 244. Universally acknowledged successor to Seradj-ed-dowla ; his letter to Ram-narain, Governor of Azim-abad, ii, 246. His order to Ram-narain on the notification of the arrival of Naky-aaly-qhan, ii, 248. Revokes his order ; report of his intended expedition to Azim-abad, ii, 249. Quits his capital : Mirza-mehdy barbarously murdered by his order, ii, 251. Bestows the Governorship of Puraniah on Qhadum-hossein-qhan ; orders Mir-cazem-qhan to attend Qhadum-hossein-qhan with his corps, ii, 254. His march to Azim-abad, ii, 257. His letter to Colonel Clive, ii, 258. Visited by Ram-narain ; encamps at Djaafer-qhan's garden, ii, 260. His character, an instance of, ii, 261. Confers the Government of Azim-abad on Mir-cazem-qhan, ii, 262. Expressions used by, to Colonel Clive's agent ; denies his knowledge of an agreement entered into with Colonel Clive, ii, 263. Sends for his Secretary and Govinda-mul ; answer given him by the latter ; desires Mir-cazem-qhan to quit Azim-abad, ii, 264. Obliges Ram-narain by releasing certain confiscated paternal Djaghirs of the author, ii, 265. Celebrates the festival of Hooly in the Chehelsootoon ; visits the tomb of the patron saint of Bahar ; satisfies his cravings for ox's flesh, ii, 266. His arrival at Moorsood-abad, ii, 270. Plunges headlong into all kinds of pleasures ; his wretched administration, ii, 271. His officers and Commanders enter into a league, headed by Qhadja-hady-qhan, ii, 272. A conspiracy against him, ii, 273. Extricated from a dangerous conspiracy ; punishes

Hady-qhan, leader of the conspirators, ii, 274. Vast arrears due to his army ; pays in part on the report of the Prince Aaly-goher's coming to Bengal, ii, 280. His detestable conduct renders Seradj-ed-dowla regretted, ii, 283. Gets notice of the intended expedition of Prince Shah-aalem, ii, 290. Applies to Colonel Clive for help, 291. His amazement and fear on receiving news of Ram-narain's junction with Mahmed-cooly-qhan's ; supplicates Colonel Clive to come to his assistance, ii, 326. Gets intelligence of Ram-narain's quitting Prince Shah-aalem's party and of his being closely besieged in Azimabad ; sets out with a numerous army, ii, 327. Advances as far as Radj-mahal ; returns to Moor-sood-abad ; orders Sadacat-mahmed-qhan to be blown off at the mouth of a gun, ii, 332. Marches against Camcar-qhan ; joined by Miren with his army ; offers battle to Camcar-qhan, ii, 346. His victory, ii, 347. Sends his son, Miren, to Ram-narain's assistance, ii, 363. Informed of Miren's death, ii, 374. Appoints Mir-cassem-qhan Governor of Purania ; deputes him on a commission to Calcutta, ii, 375. Visits Governor Vansittart at Moorad-bagh, ii, 381. Declines to accept the expedient devised by the Governor ; takes leave of the latter, ii, 382. Surrounded by Governor Vansittart's troops ; his deafness to the Governor's reasonings, ii, 384. Deposed, ii, 385. His answer to the Governor's message ; his voyage to Calcutta with his family and treasures ; arrives at Calcutta and settles there, ii, 386. Re-instated by the English ; marches with the English army against Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 486. Bestows upon Roh-eddin-hossein-qhan the Government of Puraniah, ii, 516. His voyage to Calcutta ; his standing rule of politics ; his discussions with the Members of the English Council ii, 556. Arrives at Moorshood-abad ; obtains the Council's permission to put Nand-comar in his office ; appoints Nand-comar his Prime Minister, ii, 557. His death, ii, 558.

MIREN, son of Mir-djaaser-qhan ; his abominable character ; his proposal to a large company of friends to do away with Seradj-ed-dowlah, ii, 241. His proposal accepted by Mahmedi-beg, ii, 242. Acts as Deputy to his father, ii, 251. New-models his household, ii, 253. His wretched administration, ii, 271. His design to murder Mir-cazem-qhan, ii, 279. Accomplishment of the design of, ii, 280. Throws into prison Aaly-verdy-qhan's consort and some other ladies related to the latter ; sends them to Djehanghir-nagur, ii, 281. Gets information of the intended expedition of Prince Shah-aalem, ii, 290. Applies to Colonel Clive for help, ii, 291. His letter to Ram-narain to keep watch on the two sons of Hedaiet-aaly-qhan, ii, 293. Accompanies his father in the expedition against Prince Shah-aalem ; encamps at Pointy with the object of seizing the person of Qhadum-hossein-qhan ; his agreement with Qhadum-hossein-qhan, ii, 327. Arrives close to Azimabad, ii, 328.

Marches against Radja Pahluvan-sing; his return to Azim-abad, ii, 329. Marches against Emperor Shah-aalem as General of the Bengal army; ranges his troops apart from the English, ii, 343. His timidity; hit with arrows, ii, 344. His victory; informs his father of the intention of Camcar-qhan, 345. Sets out with an army for Moors-hood-abad; makes a junction with the army of his father, ii, 346. Sets out with Colonel Clive to Ram-narain's assistance; arrives near Azim-abad, ii, 363. Pursues the enemy; killed by lightning, ii, 365. Murders every one on whom his suspicion falls, ii, 368. Condemns Gahassity-begum and Aminah-begum, to death by drowning ii, 369. Carries about him a pocket-book containing a list of two or three hundred persons whom he intended to murder, ii, 372. His burial, ii, 373.

**MIR-HABIB**, a General, attached to the force of Aaly-verdy-qhan; his discontent and desertion, i, 384. Takes service with the Marhattas, i, 387. Figures as a General of much resolution; instigates the Marhattas to plunder D jagat-seat, i, 393. His stratagical possession of Hoogly; his appointment as Prime Minister of Bhasukur-pandet, the Marhatta General, i, 394-395. His influence on Ragho-dji-bhoss-lah's mind, ii, 12. Left in command of the Marhatta and Afghan army, ii, 14. Falls upon the laggards of the Bengal army, ii, 49. His arrival near Azim-abad; his return visit to Shim-shir-qhan and Morad-shir-qhan, ii, 50. His critical situation; extricated from it, ii, 51. His vigorous attack upon the Bengal army, ii, 54. His retreat, ii, 56. Joined by Bimba-dji, son of Ragho-dji, ii, 77. His defeat in an engagement with the Bengal army; retires into the woody mountainous tracts of Oressa, ii, 79. His engagement with Aaly-verdy-qhan; his retreat, ii, 110. His proposal for peace to Aaly-verdy-qhan, ii, 111. Terms of the treaty of peace agreed to by, ii, 113. Invested with the supreme command in Oressa; sent for by Djano-dji and made over to the accountant's office, ii, 115. His attempt to retire to his own camp; his death, ii, 116.

**MIR-MAALY-QHAN**; his appearance in Shaocat-djung's court; his ascendancy over the latter's mind, ii, 196. Made Fodjdar of Siraniah, Navab-gundj and other places; his peculiar style of addressing Shaocat-djung, ii, 200. His application for assistance granted; sets out on his expedition against Rang-pur, ii, 201. Imprisoned by order of Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 216.

**MIR-MAHMED-AALY-FAZYL**, a man of vast erudition; pays his respects to Aaly-verdy-qhan, ii, 49. Visits Seif-qhan, Governor of Puraniah, and his son; entrusted by the latter with a letter to Aaly-verdy-qhan, ii, 64. His surprise at a remark made by Aaly-verdy-qhan; obtains the liberty of Aga-azimai, ii, 64-65. Accompanies Aaly-verdy-qhan to Moors-hood-abad; settles there on obtaining a pension, ii, 70. High respect shewn to him by Aaly-verdy-qhan, ii, 159-160. Short history of, ii, 181-184.

MIR-MAHMED-AALEM, some account of, ii, 168.

MIR-MAHMED-HOSSEIN, a Persian adventurer of great learning ; sets up a whimsical sect, i, 207-208. Invents a new language, i, 209. Passes for a Prophet, i, 210. His singular rites ; his preachings, i, 211-212. His followers swell into a mighty multitude, i, 214. Visited by the Emperor Ferohsyur, i, 215. Affects self-denial ; raises his character, i, 216. Styles himself Qhyfshan-nomood, i, 217. His death ; dispute amongst his successors, i, 219-220.

MIR-MAHMED-HOSSEIN-FAZYL, takes a journey to England to learn the different branches of science, iii, 76. Returns to Moorsood-abad ; gives notice of his acquisitions ; neglected by the Grandees, iii, 77.

MIR-MAHMED-SEDJAD, SEYD, *alias* MIR-MAHMED the Prosterner ; some account of ii, 170-171.

MIR-MANNOO, son of Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan, rewarded with the Governments of Lahore and Mooltan for his exceptional bravery, iii, 262-263. Capitulates to the Abdali-king, iii, 289. Resists the attacks of Ahmed-shah-abdali for four months, iii, 325. Listens to the importunities of Adinabeg-qhan to advance towards the Abdali camp ; betrayed and defeated, iii, 326. Dies of apoplexy ; his death narrated in a different manner, iii, 341.

MIR-MEDEN, appointed Paymaster-General of the forces of Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 186. Arrives near the grove of Palassy ; his gallantry, ii, 231. His death by a cannon-ball, ii, 232.

MIR-MEHDY-QHAN, appointed to command in the District of Sahar-seram, ii, 430. Made Governor of Azim-abad, ii, 449. Attacked by the English ; his flight to Monghyr, ii, 472. Re-inforced ; defeats the English, ii, 473.

MIR-MOGHOLY-QHAN, takes part in a plot for assassinating Aaly-verdy-qhan ; quits Mir-djafer-qhan's service and flies for his life, ii, 25.

MIR-RUSTEM-AALY, some account of, ii, 169.

MIR SHEAB-EDDIN, son of Ghazi-eddin-qhan ; receives the hereditary titles on his father's death, iii, 319. Joins in a conspiracy to ruin his benefactor, the Vezir, iii, 320. Instigates the Marhattas against the Djatts under Sooroodj-mull ; requests the Emperor Ahmed-shah, for some heavy artillery, iii, 335. His request not complied with ; on ill terms with the Emperor, iii, 336. Confines the Emperor and the Empress-mother ; orders them to be blinded ; proclaims Aalemghir, the Second, as Emperor, and himself becomes Vezir, iii, 339. Styled Umad-el-mulk ; instigates the Abdali-king to invade the dominion of Shudja-ed dowla, iii, 340. Designs the recovery of the provinces of Pendjab and Mooltan from the Abdali-king ; aims at the overthrow of the Brigade *Sir*, iii, 343. Roughly treated by the mutinous Brigade, iii, 344-345. Orders the annihilation of the Brigade *Sir*, iii, 346. Takes the Imperial Prince Aaly-goher with him and sets out

towards Lahore ; some account of his marriage, iii, 347. Strange predictions of his mother-in-law, iii, 348. His peace with his mother-in-law ; his cowardly submission to the Abdali-monarch, iii, 349. Undertakes to bring an enormous sum of money to the Abdali treasury in exchange for an Abdali army ; his expedition against Shudja-ed-dowla ; his disappointment at the conclusion of an agreement with Shudja-ed-dowla, iii, 351. At variance with Maleca-zemani and Saheba-mahal, consorts of the late Emperor Mahmed-shah, iii, 352. Takes in hand the administration of the Empire, iii, 365. Seizes the Emperor's person ; sends a General at the head of ten thousand horse to bring back Prince Aaly-goher, iii, 366. His vigorous measures in pursuit of the fugitive Prince, iii, 367-368. Attempts to embroil the Rohillas and Shudja ed-dowla, iii, 370. Puts to death his uncle, Intyzam-ed-dowla, iii, 374. Treacherously murders the Emperor Aalem-ghir the Second ; his discomfiture on learning the settlement arrived at between Shudja-ed-dowla and the Marhattas ; his flight to Sooroodj-mull's country on hearing of the Abdaly-king's forced marches, iii, 375.

**MIR-SULEIMAN**, steward of Mir-cassem-qhan ; his infamous hypocrisy, ii, 518. Takes service with Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 540. Advises Shudja-ed-dowla to annex the fortress of Rhotas to his dominions ; his arrival at Rhotas, ii, 553. Makes his way to Shudja ed-dowla's army, ii, 554.

**MIRZA-BAKYR**, son-in-law of Morshood-cooly-qhan, Viceroy of Oressa ; instigates the latter to take up arms against Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 349. His character and person idolised, i, 361. Resolves to try his fortune on his own account, i, 362. Confines Seyd-ahmed-qhan, Governor of Oressa ; sits on the mesned and seizes the treasures, i, 363.

**MIZA-CAZEM-QHAN**, a Persian ; an acquaintance of Lord Clive, promoted to the Governments of Sahar-seram and Chainpur ; made an object of boundless favour and high preferment ; presented with a lack of Rupees, iii, 8. Failure of his malicious object ; obtains liberation for Aaly-hibrahim-qhan from his exile, iii, 11.

**MIRZA-EMIR-BEG** ; his honorable treatment of some English ladies, ii, 190-191. Sent with a mission by Mir-djaaffer-qhan to the English, ii, 229.

**MIRZA GHOLAM-BEG**, set at liberty ; sets out for Moorshoodabad ii, 246. Treated with distinction by Mir-djaaffer-qhan, ii, 247.

**MIRZA-IREDJ-QHAN** ; his parentage ; attaches himself to Ser-boolend-qhan and goes to Goodjerat, ii, 19. Taken into service by Aaly-verdy-qhan ; marries his daughter to Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 20. Appointed Governor of Moorshoodabad by Mir-djaaffer-qhan, ii, 486.

**MIRZA-MAHMED**, father of Aaly-verdy-qhan ; appears at the Court of Shudja-qhan, the Viceroy, for succour, i, 275.

MIRZA-MEHDI, younger brother of Seradj-ed-dowla ; his murder assigned to the dissension between Mir-djaafar qhan and Radja Dooloob-ram, ii, 252.

MIRZA-PIAREN, alias MAHMED-YAR-QHAN, half-brother to Seradj-ed-dowla, appointed Deputy in the Fodjday of Hooghly, ii, 74.

MIRZA-SALEH ; his contrivance to extricate Mir-habib, ii, 51. Negotiates a treaty of peace between Aaly-verdy-qhan and Mir-habib, ii, 112. Invested with the Government of Oressa, ii, 117.

MIRZA-SHEMS-EDDIN, the sarcasms cracked by, on Navab Mir-djaafar-qhan, ii, 261.

MAHAMMED-HEZIN, short history of this illustrious man, ii, 176-178, and *foot-note*.

MOHUN-LAL, appointed Prime Minister to Seradj-ed-dowla with honors and titles, ii, 187 and *foot-note*. Entrusted with the command of an army to march against Shaocat-djung, ii, 206. Pitches his tent on an eminence upon the shore of the Ganga, ii, 210. His arrival at Puranah, ii, 216. Sends to Moorhood-abad the effects of Seyd-ahmed-qhan as well as his women and children ; leaves a Deputy of his at Puranah and returns to Moorhood-abad, ii, 218. Arrives near the grove of Palassy, ii, 231. Closely engaged with the English ; his answer to Seradj-ed-dowla's order for a retreat, his retreat, ii, 233. His person seized and delivered to Radja Dooloobram's custody, his death, ii, 240.

MOLUVY-NASSYR, some account of, ii, 166.

MCRNRO, Major, a King's servant ; appointed Commander-in-Chief of the English forces ; lands at Azim-abad ; his letter to Gholam-hossein-qhan, ii, 553. Approves of and signs a treaty with Sahomul, Governor of the fortress of Rhotas ; the fortress surrenders to him, ii, 554. Receives intelligence of the desertion of a regiment of Talingas under command of Captain Ahmety ; measures taken by him to bring under submission the mutineers ; orders twenty-five of the mutineers to be blown up at his guns to serve for an example to others ; ordered by the Council at Calcutta to attack Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 561-562. Marches to Bacsar, ii, 563. His engagement with Shudja-ed-dowla ; his victory, ii, 565-567. Goes to Calcutta ; leaves his command to Major Fooleecheer (Robert Fletcher), ii, 574. Appointed to the defence of the factory and fortress of Mendradj ; suffer a series of ignominious defeats at the hands of Haider-naic, iii, 126. Stricken with panic on hearing the detail of the slaughter by the enemy and betrays marks of fear and dismay ; flies to the fortress of Mendradj ; iii, 127. Accused of disgraceful flight, ii, 128. Resolves to retrieve his honor ; engages Haider-naic in two bloody battles ; his defeat and retreat, iii, 131.

MONSON, Colonel, a distinguished administrator ; deputed by the King and the Company to enquire into the conduct of

- Governor Hushtin and Mr. Barwell, iii, 71-72. Expects to be made Commander-in-Chief, iii, 75.
- MOOQHTAR-ED-DOWLA**, Minister of State ; rules with a high hand, iv, 73. Invited to a conference by Djan-bristow ; causes the city of Benares to be ceded to the English, iv, 74. His murder, iv, 79-80.
- MOORID-QHAN**, a Lord in the Emperor's Court ; sent to Bengal to collect arrears of revenue and to take possession of the confiscated property of Ser-efraz-qhan ; waited upon by Aaly-verdy-qhan with a few lacks of Rupees in cash besides jewellery and other presents, i, 347.
- MOORLY-DUR**, Radja ; his objection to any agreement with Prince Shah-aalem ; his prediction, ii, 295. Taken prisoner by Camcar-qhan, ii, 339. Put to the torture by Mir-casseem-qhan's order ; obliged to surrender his immense hoardings ; sent prisoner to Djehanghir-nagur-Dacca, ii, 419.
- MOORSHOOD-COOLI-QHAN**, son-in-law to the Viceroy Shudja-qhan ; appointed Governor of Djehanghir-nagur-Dacca, i, 280. Threatened with an expedition by Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 347. Sends an envoy to probe the designs of Aaly-verdy-qhan ; concludes and breaks a treaty ; receives a threatening letter from Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 348. Challenges Aaly-verdy-qhan to an encounter at the instigation of his consort and son-in-law, i, 349. His address to the nobles and his officers, i, 350. Encounters Aaly verdy-qhan in the field of Ballisser, i, 351. His defeat, i, 352. Sets sail and flies to Musulipatum, i, 353. Accepts protection of a Gentoo Prince, i, 354. Obtains shelter from Nizam-el-mulk, i, 355.
- MORAD-SHIR-QHAN**, an Afghan ; his proposal to Shim-shir-qhan, ii, 31. Pays his respects to the Governor of Azimabad, ii, 36. His march against Aaly-verdy-qhan, ii, 44. Visits Mir-habib, ii, 50. His demand upon Mir-habib, ii, 51. Disposition of his army, ii, 54. Slain by Dost-mahmed-qhan, ii, 55.
- MUAZZEM**. See Bahadyr-shah.
- MUBAREC-ED-DOWLA**, third son of Mir-djaaser-qhan ; appointed Nazem of Bengal during a calamitous time ; intrigues at his court, iii, 26. His household expenses and allowance left to the care of Menny-begum, iii, 45-46. His Divanship offered to Radja Goor-das, son of Naud-comer ; his Deputy-ship offered to Sadr-el-hac an old decrepit man, iii, 91. Estimate of his character, iii, 142. Adopts a singular Hindu custom and celebrates the same after the manner of Seradj-ed-dowla, iii, 143-144. Performs the rites of the *Divaaly* and *Hooly* festivals ; takes an active part in immoral amusements, iii, 144-145.
- MUBARIZ-QHAN**, Military Governor of Boorhan-pur ; receives secret instructions from Emperor Mahmed-shah to fight and kill Nizam-el-mulk ; forms a confederacy ; encounters Nizam-el-mulk ; slain, i, 247.

MUEZZ-EDDIN. *See* Djehandar shah.

MUHI-EL-SENNA, grandson of the Emperor Aoreng-zib ; raised to the throne of Delhi under the title of Shah-djehan ; his person watched over by Mehdi-aaly-qhan, iii, 375.

MUHTASIB, or Clerk of the Market ; duties devolving upon, subsequent corruption in the office of, iii, 172.

MUHTEVI-QHAN, *alias* Abdol-nebi, a Cashmerian, his hostility to the Hindus ; his anti-hindu demonstrations and inhuman proceedings, i, 157-160. Put to death with a variety of tortures, i, 161.

MUNNIR-ED-DOWLA, appointed Minister to Prince Shah-aalem, ii, 288. His embassy to Ahmed-shah the Abdaly-monarch, ii, 413. Supplicates the coming of Prince Shah-aalem to ascend his ancestral throne, ii, 414.

MUSTAPHA-QHAN, an Afghan General of great renown ; lags behind in the field of battle ; his discontent, i, 379. His grievances represented, i, 380. His intercession in the affairs of a Gentoo Radja ; his honor wounded, i, 381. His reply to the address of Aaly-verdy-qhan ; his address to the other Generals, i, 385. Takes an active part in favour of Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 389. Takes the Marhattas by surprise, i, 390. His elevation in rank and title, i, 399. His high credit with the Viceroy Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 430. His strange character, and that of his nation, severely criticised, i, 437. Aspires to be a rival to Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 438. His pretension to superiority ; his demand for the Government of Azimabad, i, 439-440. Commences hostilities with the Viceroy, i, 442. Turns his arms against Azim-abad, i, 445. His bold reply to an artful message, i, 451. Success of his first engagement ; seizes an old fort ; loses his brave nephew, i, 453. His fierce attack to carry the entrenchment of Azimabad ; his success in the undertaking, i, 454. Victory snatched from him, i, 457. His next appearance in the arena ; his driver and standard-bearer brought down in a sharp action, i, 460. A musket-ball enters his eyes ; his people take him for dead and disperse, i, 461. Meets the Governor of Azim-abad in the field ; defeated and slain ; treatment of his remains by the victor, i, 466-467. His proposal to take Calcutta and murder all the English, ii, 163.

MUSTAPHA-COOLV-QHAN, a brother of Seradj-ed-dowla's father-in-law ; his mission ; brings it to a successful issue, ii, 99.

MUSTAPHA QHAN, *alias* Abdol-rezac, an Iranian General in the employ of the king of Haider-abad ; remains faithful to the last while others desert, iv, 204. Finds out and destroys the mines set up by Aoreng-zib, iv, 210. His unshaken fidelity, iv, 214. Advances into the thickest of the fray, iv, 216. Aoreng-zib an admirer of his prowess ; taken to the Hall of Audience in an unconscious state, iv, 220. Noble proceedings of Aoreng-zib towards him, iv, 221.

**MUZAFER-QHAN**, brother of Qhandooran ; succeeds Haider-cooly-qhan as Grandmaster of the Imperial household and of the artillery ; entrusted with the Government of Adjmir, i, 262. Ordered to proceed against the ravaging Marhattas ; his return to the capital ; his reception, i, 207.

## N.

**NAAMET-QHAN-AALY**, historian of the time of Aoreng-zib ; his narration of the Siege of Golconda quoted in this work, iv, 204.

**NADYR SHAH**, the Iranian adventurer ; undertakes an expedition to Cabool through the unguarded passes, i, 300. Sends messages and embassy to Delhi ; puts the Afghans to the sword ; takes possession of the fortress of Candahar, i, 303. His message to the Cutwal of Cabool ; his victory over the Caboolians ; his envoys to the Court of Mahmed-shah coldly received, i, 305. His envoy slain at Jelalabad ; his order for a general massacre, i, 306. His victory over the Imperial army, i, 310. Agrees to conclude a peace on payment of two corors of Rupees as war indemnity, i, 312. Has his eyes opened to the wealth of India ; commands the Emperor Mahmed-shah to appear at his court for an interview, i, 313. Enters the capital ; takes up his quarters in the castle, i, 314. His rumoured death ; seven hundred of his soldiers massacred, i, 315. Orders for an indiscriminate massacre in the capital ; draws a Princess from the sergalio and marries her to his son ; adds to his dominions the provinces of Sind and Cabool ; receives a sumptuous entertainment from the Emperor, i, 316. Presents the Emperor with a Djica (gold ornament) and returns him his crown of Hindostan ; departs for his own dominions, i, 317.

**NAKI-AALY-QHAN**, the author's brother ; his intimacy with Mir-djafer-qhan ; his ambitious views ; his respectful letter to the new Navab Mir-djafer-qhan, ii, 247. Leaves Benares and arrives at Azimabad ; gets an order to return to Benares ; applies for help to Mir-cazem-qhan, ii, 248. His petition to Mir-djafer-qhan for realease of his paternal estate ; his petition granted, ii, 265. Parts with Mir-djafer-qhan at Patna ; returns to Azimabad, ii, 268. Recovers his paternal Djaghiry estate, ii, 277. His arrival at the camp of Emperor Shah-aalem, ii, 356. His situation of Paymaster of the Imperial household ; his titles, ii, 409.

**NAND-COMAR**, appointed Prime Minister to Mir-djafer-qhan ; his conduct towards Mahmed-reza-qhan, Governor of Dje-hanghir-nagur-Dacca, ii, 557. Appointed Divan to Navab Nedjm-ed-dowla ; the centre of all public and private business in Bengal ; in friction with Governor Vansittart ; sent for to Calcutta by the Members of the English Council ; charged with misdemeanour, iii, 3. Dismissed from office ;

a prisoner within the precincts of Calcutta, iii, 4. Joins the party of General Clavering to bring down Mr. Hushtin ; cuts a conspicuous figure, iii, 75. His infamies exposed ; his forged obligation bond in favour of the Banker Boolakidas ; his trial before a Grand-jury ; his guilt proved, iii, 78. His case with other records sent to England ; his cause taken up by General Clavering ; his execution ; his property amounting to a Corror of Rupees delivered to his son, Radja Goor-das, iii, 79.

NANEC SHAH, the patriarch of the Syc sect, i, 82. Succeeded by his servant, Angad, in preference to his children, i, 84.

NASSYR-DJUNG, second son and successor to Nizam-el-mulk ; overawes the Marhattas by the firmness of his government ; marches against his cousin, Hedaiet-mubi-eddin-qhan, iii, 319. His victory, iii, 320. Slain by a conspiracy, iii, 321.

NASSYR-EDDIN-HAIDER-QHAN, brother-in-law to Vezir Aboolmansoor-qhan ; sent by the latter to the assistance of Nevol-ray, iii, 291.

NASSYR-QHAN, appointed Governor of Cabool by Ahmed-abdaly ; retires to Peshawar on the Caboolians deserting him, iii, 253. Defends himself against the Abdaly ; turns a fugitive, iii, 255. His arrival at Lahore ; his disapproval of the Governor's proposal to a combination against the Abdaly-king, iii, 256.

NECO-SYUR, a competitor to the throne of Delhi ; his castle and person seized, i, 144.

NEDJEEF-QHAN, MIRZA, a Commander of renown ; enters into the service of Navab Mir-casseem-qhan ; ordered to join the defenders of Udua-nala, ii, 495. How he signalises himself, ii, 496. His escape over the hills, ii, 498. Joins Mir-casseem-qhan in his camp at Nelitoo ; his advice to the Navab ; dismissed with a present, ii, 514. Takes service with the Radja of Bundelcund, ii, 519. Joins the English with his Moghuls ; accompanies Major Stibbeit in his march to Illahabad, ii, 578. Receives orders to chastise the Marhattas, iv, 39. Conspiracy against him, iv, 40. His determined stand, iv, 41. Regains the confidence of the Emperor ; forms a combination with the Marhattas, iv, 42. Overcomes the Rohillas, iv, 43-44. His projects and conquests, iv, 47-48. Beginning of his fortune ; Acber-abad taken by, iv, 49. Enters into an alliance with Shudja-ed-dowla, iv, 58. Agrees to a treaty of partition with Shudja-ed-dowla, iv, 59. Shews every demonstration of favour and regard to Zabeta-qhan, iv, 60. Becomes an independent Sovereign ; augments his army on a magnificent scale, iv, 108. His conquests ; his operations against Zabeta-qhan, iv, 109-111. Causes the hostile Abdolahed-qhan to be removed from the ministry ; confiscates his property and confines his person ; designs to attack and subdue the Sycs, iv, 114.

**NEDJIB-ED-DOWLA**, *alias NEDJIB-QHAN*, a Rohilla General ; recommended to the dignity of "Prince of Princes," iii, 364. Becomes Minister to the Emperor Aalemghir the Second ; sends the Imperial Prince Aaly-goher to a place of safety, iii, 365. Entertains the fugitive Prince for eight months, iii, 369. His ruin contemplated by Umad-el-mulk, iii, 370. Joins with Shudja-ed dowla for their common cause ; stands in defence against the Marhattas, iii, 371. Invites the co-operation of Shudja-ed-dowla to face the Marhattas, iii, 372. Invites the assistance of the Abdaly-king to stand against the Marhattas, iii, 378. Raised to the dignity of "Prince of Princes" by the Abdaly-king, iii, 393. His friction with Sooroodj-mull, iv, 28. Offers assistance to the Beloochees against Sooroodj-mull, iv, 30. His war with Sooroodj-mull, iv, 31. An estimate of his character ; his death, iv, 34-35.

**NEDJM-ED-DOWLA**, nicknamed Mir-pahlori ; succeeds his father, Mir-djaafet-qhan, as Navab by order of Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnstone ; presents a sum of money to the latter in recognition of the favour received ; acts for sometime as absolute Governor ; his strange and sudden death, iii, 13.

**NEEC**, Mr., a Member of the Council at Azimabad, along with Mr. Macsool (Maxwell) and others ; his passionate temper, iii, 108-109.

**NEFISSA-BEGUM**, paid great respect to by Aaly-verdy-qhan i, 355. Adopts an illegitimate child of Ser-efraz-qhan, i, 356. Success of her scheme, ii, 109.

**NEVAZISH-MAHMED-QHAN**, son-in-law of Aaly-verdy-qhan, made Governor of Djehanghir nagur-Dacca ; Appointed Divan of Bengal, i, 344. Adopts Nefissa-begum for his mother ; his great respect for her ; his liberality in supporting poor widows, i, 356. Flies for fear of the Marhattas with family and furniture, i, 396. Appointed Deputy Governor of Moorshood-abad, i, 402. His grief at the death of his adopted son, Ecrani-ed-dowla, ii, 119. Conceives a fondness for the infant son of Ecrani-ed-dowla, ii, 120. His consent to the murder of Hossein-cooly-qhan, ii, 124. Attacked by hydropsy, ii, 126. His death and burial, ii, 127. His extensive charities ; a few instances of his other eminent qualities, ii, 128-133.

**NEVOL-RAY**, Deputy, to Abool-mansoor-qhan ; sets out at the head of a body of veterans to assist his master against the Rohilla, iii, 237. Introduced to the Emperor Mahomed-shah, iii, 238. Rises in favour with the Vezir Abool-mansoor-qhan ; made his Deputy throughout the whole Government, iii, 290. In action with the revolted Afghans, iii, 291. Defeated and slain, iii, 292.

**NIZAM-AALY, MIR** ; his surname of Assef-dja ; appointed Governor of Berar, iii, 354. Assumes the office of Prime Minister and becomes the centre of all affairs, iii, 355. Cedes to

the Marhattas the fortresses of Dowlet-abad, Assir and Bidjapoer, iii, 359. His engagement with the Marhattas ; defection in his army, iii, 396. Defeats the Marhattas and pursues them, iii, 400. Gives a finishing blow to the Marhatta power, iii, 401.

**NIZAM-ED-DOWLA**, son of Nizam-el-mulk ; shakes off his father's authority ; defeated in battle and taken prisoner, iii, 216. Abstains from attending the Imperial Court for reasons of his own ; resolves to conquer the Carnatic, iii, 221.

**NIZAM-EL-MULK**, Fodjdar of Moorad-abad, sent for to Court under pretence of promotion ; dismissed, i, 116. Settles troubles and disturbances in his Government, i, 151. Answers a diplomatic letter of Hossein-aaly-qhan in a haughty style, i, 152. Revolts openly, i, 153. Occupies the fortress of Ashir and the citadel of Boorhanpur, i, 156. Treats a lady of distinction with honour, i, 157. His victory at Boorhanpur, i, 162-163. His second victory over the Seids at Balapoor i, 167-170. Congratulates the Emperor Mahmed-shah on his victory ; honoured with a glance of the Imperial eye, i, 203. Promoted to the Vezir-ship, i, 236. His sage admonitions to the Emperor ; looked upon with an evil eye by his rivals, i, 237. Appointed to the Government of Goodjerat, i, 238. Debauches several Commanders of his rival, Haider-cooly-qhan, i, 240. His discontentment with the Imperial party ; his intention to resign his post ; his promotion ; his decorations and titles, i, 246. Humoured by the Emperor ; encountered in a bloody action by Mubariz-qhan at the instigation of the Emperor, i, 247. Put upon his own guard ; excites the Marhattas to invade Malva, i, 257. Invested with the title of Assef-dja and called to Court, i, 294. Marches to chastise Badji-rao, i, 295. Appears in the court of Nadyr-shah ; offers submission ; concludes a treaty ; invested with the Qhylaat of "The Prince of the Princes," i, 312. His death, ii, 162. Defeats his rebellious son, Nizam-ed-dowla, in a battle and takes him prisoner, iii, 216. Some account of his ancestry and family, iii, 282. A brief review of his career, iii, 283-284.

**NOBET-RAY**, Radja ; appointed Deputy-Governor of Azim-abad, ii, 431. Displaced by Mir-mehdi-qhan ; made to live at the court of Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 449.

**NOOR EL-HASSEN-QHAN**, a Commander under the Vezir Abool-mansoor-qhan ; wounded by a cannon-ball, iii, 296.

**NOOR-OLLAH-BEG-QHAN**, appointed Paymaster-General of the forces of Aaly-verdy-qhan, ii, 27.

## O.

**OMID-RAY**, his officiating Prime Minister-ship ; made Deputy to Radja Kyret-chund, ii, 114. Appointed Prime Minister, ii, 115.

**OODEM-BAY**, mother of the Emperor Ahmed-shah ; her intimate connection with the eunuch Djavid-qhan, iii, 285.

**OOLOOGH-BEG**, a famous astronomer, iii, 220 (*foot-note*).

### P.

**PAHLUVAN-SING**, a zemindar attached to Mahmed-cooly-qhan ; his strong reflection on the impropriety of the latter in raising the siege, ii, 318. Imparts his scheme to Hedaiet-aaly-qhan, ii, 320. Brought to terms by Colonel Clive ; his recommendation to the Colonel to release Hedaiet-aaly-qhan's Djaghiry-lands, ii, 329. Returns to his zemindary, ii, 330. Flies to Ghazipoor, ii, 425.

**PALASSY**, Battle of, ii, 231-233.

**PANIPOOT**, Battle of ; eighty thousand Marhattas killed at it, iii, 291.

**PIR-AHMED**, an Afgan Commander, becomes envious of Cootoob-eddin's distinctions ; seeks revenge in exciting troubles, iii, 268. His engagements with Cootoob-eddin and Hedaiet-aaly-qhan, iii, 269. Retreats full of shame and confusion, iii, 270.

**PLAGUF**, breaks out in Patna and spreads all over the northern India, i, 265.

**PORTUGUESE** ; origin of their settlement in India, iv, 121.

### Q.

**QHADJA-HADY-QHAN**, leader of a conspiracy against Mir-djaafar-qhan, ii, 272. His exile ; his death, ii, 275.

**QHADUM-HOSSEIN-QHAN**, quits Azia-abad to follow Seyd-ahmed-qhan, ii, 71. Sent to take possession of Pooraniah, ii, 74. His barbarous conduct to the disconsolate mother of Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 243. His connection with Mir-djaafar-qhan ; his qualifications, ii, 253. His representation to Mir-djaafar-qhan ; appointed Governor of Puraniah ; marches to Purania, ii, 254-255. His easy victory ; lodges at Seyd-ahmed-qhan's palace ; his proclamation for the arrest of Achel-sing ; his odious administration, ii, 256. His behaviour to Katan-pal the astrologer, ii, 257. Encamps at Carangola ; places himself under the safeguard of the English ; his interview with Miren, ii, 327. His offer to Emperor Shah-aalem, ii, 349. Resolves to join the Emperor ; arrives at Hadjipur, ii, 360. His defeat, ii, 361. Flies towards Betiah, ii, 362. Encounters the Bengal army and Colonel Clive on his way, ii, 363. Effects his escape, ii, 364.

**QHAN-DJEHAN**, an illustrious General in the service of Aoreng-zib ; retires to his Djaghiry-land being disgraced by his master ; dies of a broken heart, iv, 160. His brilliant character ; his prowess and victories, iv, 161. His victory over the Marhattas at Hersol, iv, 162. Designs a false attack during the siege of Rameh, iv, 172. Plays a conspicuous part during the siege of Bidjapoort, iv, 174. His

activity during the famous siege of Haider-abad, iv, 180-181. His army narrowly escape defeat through the interposition of Providence ; Sultan Muazzem sent to his assistance, iv, 182. Called to account for the lenity shewn to the Haider-abadians and their King, iv, 189-190. Unbecomingly treated by the Emperor Aoreng-zib, iv, 191.

**QHANDOORAN**, Minister to the Emperor Feroh-syur, i, 118. Commander of Cammul-poshes, i, 133. Comes to the Emperor's assistance in battle, i, 180. Promoted to the office of Paymaster-General, i, 183. Enters into an agreement with the Marhattas ; compels the Marhattas to keep aloof from Nizam-el-mulk and to obey the Imperial commands, i, 294. Rises to the height of power but is unfortunate in his undertakings, i, 300. His ridiculous views as to Nadyr-shah's importance, i, 304. His contemptuous treatment of Nadyr-shah's embassy, i, 305. Spreads the report of his march against-Nadyr-shah, i, 306. Wounded in the field ; death of his brother and son, i, 310. His death, i, 311.

**QHODJISTAH-AQHTER**, third son of Bahadyr-shah ; assumes the title of Djehan-shah ; engages in a bloody decision with his second brother, Djehandar-shah, i, 30. His overthrow, i, 33.

## R.

**RABIAH-BEGUM**, wife of Ata-ollah-qhan, makes her appearance in Bengal, ii, 113 ; and *foot-note*. Her safe arrival at Azim-abad ; settles at Moorshood-abad, ii, 114.

**RADJ-BOOLOOB**, appointed Prime Minister of Miren, ii, 253. Command of Miren's army after his death devolves on him ; leads the army back to Azim-abad, ii, 376. Deputy Governor of Azim-abad, ii, 427. His confinement ; his property confiscated, ii, 431. Put to death by Mir-cassem-qhan's order, ii, 492.

**RAGHO-DJI-BHOSSLA**, a Marhatta Commander of great renown ; threatens Bengal with an invasion, i, 375-376. Instigated by Mustapha-qhan makes an eruption in Bengal, i, 463. Opens negotiations with Aaly-verdy-qhan for a treaty ; demands three Corors of Rupees as a term of agreement, i, 464. Determines to invade Oressa, ii, 2. His hasty march to Oressa, ii, 3. Besieges the fortress of Bara-baty ; imprisons the Governor of Oressa, ii, 4. His plan to take possession of the fortress ; his demand upon Aaly-verdy-qhan, ii, 5. Subdues the whole of Oressa, ii, 6. Delivers certain Afghan officers from their loathsome habitation ; his army increased by the junction of the Afghans, ii, 7. His action with the Bengal army at Ranje's Reservoir, ii, 10. Falls into the views of Mir-hahib ; marches to Moorshood-abad, ii, 12. His defeat in a skirmish, ii, 13. His defeat and heavy loss at the battle of Catwa ; quits the frontiers of Bengal, ii, 14.

RÄHIM-ÖLLAH-QHAN-PENI, his dgrace, ii, 439-440.

RAM-DAS, *alias* RADJA RAGHO-NAT-DAS, intrigues with the French ; made a Prime Minister, iii, 322. Assumes the office of Deputy General ; raises to the throne Seyd-mahmed-qhan, third son of Nizam-el-mulk, iii, 323. His murder, iii, 324.

RAM-NARAIN, RADJA, succeeds Radja Djankiram, Deputy Governor of Azim-abad ; short history of, ii, 117. His march against Shaocat-djung, ii, 206. His return to Azim-abad, ii, 216. Submits to Mir-djafer-qhan, ii, 246. Notifies the arrival of Nakyaaly qhan and his family ; his respectful answer to Mir-cazem-qhan's message, ii, 248. His suspicions, ii, 250. Resolves to enter into an alliance with the English ; gains Govinda-mul over to his side ; sends him as his own agent to the English camp to procure a favourable letter from Colonel Clive, ii, 257-258. Obtains the letter ; goes to the English camp, ii, 259. Repairs to Mir-djafer-qhan's camp attended by one of Clive's Com:rades ; encamps at Djafer-qhan's garden, ii, 260. His office of Governor of Azim-abad conferred upon Mir-cazem-qhan ; how he avails himself of Clive's letter, ii, 263-264. Supplicates Mir-djafer-qhan for the release of the author's confiscated Djaghirs ; his request granted, ii, 265. His expedition against Bishen-sing, a refractory Zemindar of Seress and Cotumbah ; brings the Zemindar into submission, ii, 276. His hatred of Mir-djafer-qhan, ii, 283. Imparts to Mr. Amyatt the news of Prince Shah-aalem's intended expedition, ii, 290. Encamps at the garden of Fateh-bagh, ii, 291. Tampers with the two parties of the Imperial army and the Bengal army ; consults Mr. Amyatt about the party convenient for him to take ; his letters to Miren and Colonel Clive, ii, 292. Assures Shah-aalem of his good will and attachment ; receives a letter from Miren, ii, 293. Sends for the author and reads the letter in his presence ; his answer to the author, ii, 294. Informs Mr. Amyatt of Prince Shah-aalem's arrival ; his desire to come to an agreement with the Prince ; makes haste to conclude it, ii, 295. Sends the author and Mustepha-cooly-qhan on an embassy to Prince Shah-aalem, ii, 296. Retires within the city walls ; his conference with Medar-ed-dowla and Mirza-issac, ambassadors from Mahmed-cooly-qhan, ii, 299. Sets out for Mahmed-cooly-qhan's camp, ii, 300. His private conference with Mahmed-cooly-qhan, ii, 301. Pays homage to Prince Shah-aalem, ii, 302. His senses struck by the misery of the Imperial army, ii, 303. Comes back to Azim-abad ; secures himself in his post, ii, 304. Sends the New Years Day presents to Prince Shah-aalem and Mahmed-cooly-qhan, ii, 305. His proposed expedient ; receives news of the coming of Miren with Colonel Clive, ii, 306. His insulting message to Mahmed-cooly-qhan,

ii, 307. Commences a hot fire on the Imperial army, ii, 309. His vigorous defence of Mehdy-gundj Tower, ii, 316-317. Visits Colonel Clive, ii, 328. Returns to Azim-abad, ii, 330. His preparations for war against the second expedition of Prince Shah-aalem, ii, 333. Encamps near Ticary, ii, 334. Attacked by Camcar-qhan ; grievously wounded ; his flight, ii, 340. His letter to Emperor Shah-aalem, ii, 343. Represents the enfeebled state of his garrison to Moorshood-abad ; gets ready for a vigorous resistance, ii, 349. Succoured by Captain Knox, ii, 353. Gets intelligence of Hedaiet-aaly-qhan's preparations to go to the Imperial camp ; his complaint to Mr. Amyatt against the author, ii, 354. Receives news of Qhadum-hassen-qhan's arrival at Hadjipur with intention to join the Emperor Shah-aalem ; his complaint to Mr. Amyatt ; orders some of his Commanders to join Captain Knox, ii, 357. Goes to the factory at Azim-abad, ii, 361. Returns home contented on learning the defeat of Qhadum-hassen-qhan, ii, 362. Gains over General Coote to his interest ; his false report to the General, ii, 415. Ordered by Navab Mir-casseem-qhan to render an account of his long administration, ii, 417. Obliged to submit to the Navab's control ; put into confinement with all his relations, ii, 419. His death, ii, 493.

**RAM-SING, RADJA**, son of Abi-sing ; an expedition undertaken against, by Radja Bhat-sing, iii, 311. His vigorous action against Saadat-qhan's force ; benevolent action of his Radjpoots, iii, 316-317.

**RATAN-CHUND**, Divan of Vezir Abdollah-qhan ; gets absolute charge of his master's immense household, i, 66. Meddles with the Imperial registers ; carries matters with a high hand, i, 103. Gives protection to a State prisoner, i, 106. Supplicates the Emperor Refiad-derdjat to exempt the Hindus from the capitulation, i, 137. His proud position, i, 138. Interferes in matters both financial and ecclesiastical, i, 148. Executes the treaty of Illah-abad, i, 156. Confined with a chain at his feet, i, 180.

**RAFIAD-DERDJAT, PRINCE**, proclaimed Emperor, i, 136. Gives a public audience, i, 137. Dies of consumption, i, 143.

**REFIED-DOWLA**, succeeds his brother, Refiad-derdjat, as Emperor, i, 143. Suffers with consumption ; i, 144. His death, i, 145.

**ROH-EDDIN-HOSSEIN-QHAN**, son of Seif-qhan ; how he helps himself to displace Shir-aaly-qhan, Governor of Puraniah, ii, 514-516.

**ROH-EDDIN-HOSSEIN-QHAN**, steps into the Government of Puraniah by a sudden stroke of his destiny ; his indolence and prodigality ; his addiction to pleasurable pursuits ; his affection for Asker-aaly ; his arrears in revenue represented to the Calcutta Council, iii, 31. His dismissal, iii, 32.

**ROHILLAS**, The, a combination formed against, iv, 42. Defeated by the combined army of Mirza Nedjef-qhan and the Marhattas, iv, 44. Abandon the strong intrenchment of Sakur-tal, iv, 45. Conclude a treaty of peace, iv, 47. Give protection to Mir-casseem-qhan, iv, 50. Their ruin meditated, iv, 51. Receive and reject a message from Shudja-ed-dowla, iv, 53. Defeated and ruined; bravery of their General, Hafyz-rahmet, who is slain; their country taken possession of by Shudja-ed-dowla; fate of their Princes, iv, 55-56. Their women, an account of, 60-61 (*foot-note*).

**KOSHEN-ARA-BEGUM**, the virgin daughter of Aoreng-zib; some account of, iv, 127-128 (*foot-note*).

## S.

**SAADAT-QHAN**, Governor of Aood; offers his services to Serboolend-qhan in satisfying the claims of the latter's disbanded soldiers, i, 257. Undertakes an expedition at the request of Camer-eddin-qhan against the refractory Zemin-dar Adjadjoo, of the Checlaw of Corra, i, 270. Marches against the Marhattas, i, 288. His victory, i, 289. His reception by the Emperor Mahmed-shah; receives the command of the Imperial army to face the invincible Nadyr-shah i, 309. Defeated and taken prisoner, i, 311. Mediates in introducing Nizam-el-mulk to Nadyr-shah, i, 312. Divested of the dignity of Emir-ul-umrah; instigates Nadyr-shah to break the treaty and to demand a larger sum than two Corors, i, 313. Dies of cancer, i, 316. The viceroyalties of Acbar-abad and Adjimir bestowed upon him; marches against the Radjpoots of Adjimir, iii, 311. Quarrels with Sooroodj-mull the Djatt; his Council decide against his project, iii, 312. Proceeds against the Djatts rejecting the advice of his Council, iii, 313. Orders his army to retreat; submits to a disgraceful treaty, iii, 314. Resumes his expedition against Adjimir, iii, 315. Marches against Radja Ram-sing; his troops ready to perish with thirst, relieved by the singular generosity of the Radjpoots, iii, 316. Rejects the insinuations of Bhat-sing; resolves to make an accommodation with the Radjpoots, iii, 317. His unpopularity due to his fruitless expedition to Adjimir, iii, 318. His disrespectful attitude towards the Emperor Ahmed-shah; his dismissal and disgrace, iii, 319. Takes up the cause of the Vezir in his operations against the Emperor, iii, 333. ordered to realise the money promised by the King of Haider-abad in terms of the treaty, iv, 192. A disciple of the school of Aoreng-zib; sends the Emperor the jewels pledged by the King of Haider-abad; his artful management of the business, iv, 193. Ingeniously defends the fanatical conduct of his master the Emperor Aoreng-zib, iv, 194-195. Applauded by the Emperor, iv, 196. Neglected and disgraced, iv, 226.

**SAAD-EDDIN-QHAN**, MIR-ATESHY, steward of the Imperial household; his death, iii, 221.

- SAAD-OLLAH-QHAN**, son of Aaly-mahmed-qhan-Rohilla ; besieged by Caim-qhan in the castle of Budaon ; resolves to risk everything in self-defence, iii, 287. His victory over Caim-qhan, iii, 288. His junction with Ahmed-qhan-bangash, iii, 306. His defeat at the hands of the Vezir's army, iii, 307.
- SAADET-AALY MIRZA**, brother of Assef-ed-dowla ; flies for safety to Nedjef-qhan's dominions, iv, 81.
- SADR-EL-HAC-QHAN**, an old decrepit man and an assiduous worshipper of Governor Hushtin, appointed Deputy to Mubarec-ed-dowla and Fodjdar-General of Bengal, iii, 91. His death, iii, 102.
- SADR-EL-SOODOOR**, or great almoner ; corruption in the office ; Governor Hastings rescues many oppressed families from the grasp of, iii, 166-168.
- SAGE**, Mr., appointed Chief of Azimabad, iii, 75.
- SAHABA-MAHAL**, captivates the Emperor Mahmed shah with her charms and is taken to his seraglio ; delivered of a Princess, iii, 219. Resolves to quit the country with Maleca-zemani and takes the protection of Ahmed shah-abdali ; marries her daughter to the Abdali-king, iii, 353.
- SAHOMUL**, Governor of the fortress of Rhotas ; surrenders the fortress to Major Monro on stipulated terms ; requests the author to accompany him to Azimabad to represent his case before the English rulers, ii, 554. His arrival at Azim abad, ii, 555.
- SAHO-RADJA**, son of Simba ; enforces the grant of *Des-mookhi* and *Chout* from the Moghul Emperors, iv, 17. Appoints Badji rao as his Prime Minister, iv, 18. Concludes a peace with Nassyr-djung, iv, 22.
- SALIR**, the fortress of ; surrendered to Emperor Aoreng-zib, iv, 169.
- SCINDIA**, MAHA-DJI, feudatory ruler of the Marhatta Empire ; absolute Governor of Malva and Oodjein, sets out to oppose the English, iii, 136. His operations against the Rana of Gohud, iii, 138.
- SEFI**, Princes of the illustrious race of ; expelled from their ancestral throne, i, 301.
- SEID BROTHERS**, Hossein-aaly-qhan and Abdollah-qhar known in history under the designation of, i, 67. Great debates between them, i, 164. Destruction of their army, i, 167.
- SEIF-EDDIN-AALY QHAN**, brother of Vezir Abdollah-qhan ; sent to Boorhanpur to prepare a camp-equipage and a train of artillery, i, 120. His grand march from Boorhanpur in aid of his brother, i, 124. Appointed Fodjdar of Moorabad, i, 138. His estate confiscated ; rises in self-defence, i, 296. His death ; his family dishonored, oppressed and massacred, i, 298.
- SEIF-ED-DOWLA**, succeeds his brother, Nedjm-ed-dowla, as Navab of Bengal ; his death under mysterious circumstances, iii, 13 and *foot-note*.

- SEIF-QHAN, Governor of Puraniah ; assistance sent by him to Aaly-verdy-qhan, ii, 48. Slighted by Aaly-verdy qhan ; his death, ii, 74.
- SEKENDER-ADEL-SHAH, King of Bidjapur ; dispossessed by Aoreng-zib after a terrible and protracted warfare, iv, 174-178. His confinement, iv, 179.
- SELABET-DJUNG, *alias* SEYD-MAHMED-QHAN, son of Nizam-el-Mulk ; raised to his hereditary throne by Ram-das ; marches against and defeats Baladji-rao with the assistance of the French, iii, 323. His death in confinement, iii, 397.
- SERADJ-ED-DOWLA, *alias* MIRZA-MAHMED ; birth of, i, 282. Adopted by Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 283. His marriage, ii, 17. Specimen of his hastiness of temper and his influence over Aaly-verdy-qhan's mind, ii, 64-65. Appointed Governor of Azim-abad, ii, 68. His signal for the murder of Ser-endaz-qhan, ii, 81. Marches against Mir-habib, ii, 87. Joins his grandfather, Aaly-verdy-qhan's army at Midnipur, ii, 88. Sets out for Azim-abad with only Loot-en-nissa and his mother for companion, ii, 94. His answer to the envoys sent by his grandfather, ii, 95. His reply to his grandfather's letter, ii, 96. Arrives at Ghyasspur ; despatches a letter to Mehdi-nessar-qhan, ii, 97. Lodges at Djafer-qhan's garden and commands Radja Djankiram's attendance ; reveals his secrets to the envoy sent by Djankiram, ii, 99. Intends to fight Djankiram ; his blunt answer to Mehdi-nessar-qhan, ii, 100. Strange attack of Azim-abad by, ii, 101. His flight, ii, 104. His reception by Mustapha-cooly-qhan, ii, 105. His reconciliation with his grandfather, ii, 106. His detestable conduct ; his design to murder Hossein-cooly-qhan and Haider-aaly-qhan, ii, 122. Instigates Aga-sadye to murder the nephew of Hossein-cooly-qhan ; influences all the members of his family to aid him in his murderous design, ii, 123. Gains the consent of Nevazish-mahmed-qhan to the murders ; Hossein-cooly-qhan and Haider-aaly-qhan murdered by his order, ii, 125. Succeeds his grandfather in his government ; commences his reign by stripping and confining his aunt, Gahassity-begum, ii, 185. Changes in his court ; goes to Radj-mahal with the intention of wrenching Purania from Shaocat-djung's hands, ii, 187. Receives news of Mr. Drake's giving shelter to Kissen-bohllub ; his correspondence with Mr. Drake ; declares war against the English, ii, 188. His disregard for his ablest Generals ; takes possession of the English towns, ii, 189. Universal pillage of the Company's warehouses and the dwellings of the principal English by the army of, ii, 190. Leaves his new conquests in charge of Manie-chund ; returns to Moorshood-abad, ii, 192. General discontent and a confederacy against, ii, 193. His letter to Shaocat-djung, ii, 204. His victory, ii, 213. His order to Radja Mohun-

**lal**, ii, 215. Holds a consultation with his Grandees upon the proposal of Colonel Clive, ii, 220. Gets intelligence of the success of the English; marches to Calcutta, ii, 221. Surprised in his camp by the English; his narrow escape, ii, 222. Submits to a disgraceful treaty; terms of the treaty agreed to by him; returns to Moorshood-abad, ii, 223. Deserted by his Generals and his friends, ii, 224. Representation of the English Agent supported by his discontented officers; his conference with Moosher Lass; his answer to the English Agent, ii, 226. Advises Moosher Lass to repair to Azimabad; two Generals of his confederate with the Djagat-seats to overthrow his Government, ii, 227. Gets intelligence of Colonel Clive's preparations for war, ii, 229. Sends part of his forces to Palassy under command of Radja Dooloob-ram; defection amongst his Generals; arrives at Palassy, ii, 230. Sends for General Mir-djaafér-qhan; his affecting speech to the General, ii, 232. Consults Mir-djaafér-qhan; his pressing order to Mohun-lal for retreat, ii, 233. Desertion of his troops; arrives at Moorshood-abad; abandoned by his whole court, ii, 234. His flight, ii, 235. Betrayed by Shah-dana, a Fakir; arrested, ii, 239. Brought back to Moorshood-abad as prisoner, ii, 240. His confinement, ii, 241. Affecting narrative of his murder; treatment of his remains, ii, 242.

**SERBERAH-QHAN, DJELIL**, a slave boy; raised to dignities under the surname of; wounded and taken prisoner during the seige of Golconda, iv, 206. Honorably treated by the King of Haider-abad and restored to liberty; entrusted with a message by the King of Haider-abad; disgraced; represents the message to Emperor Aoreng-zib, iv, 207.

**SER-BOOLEND-QHAN**, Governor of Cabool; called to Court to receive anew the investiture of his Government i, 138. Recalled from retirement with an advance of a Coror of Rupees; offered the patent of the Government of Goodjerat, i, 249. Obtains liberation for Nedjm-eddin-aaly-qhan and makes him his colleague, i, 250. Defeats the revolted Hamed-qhan, i, 251. Neglected; superseded by Abi-sing whom he fights and compels to quit the field, i, 254. His interview and reconciliation with Abi-sing, i, 255. Proceeds to the Capital; his advance checked by the Imperial guards; set up on by his disbanded troops, i, 256. Satisfies the claims of his disbanded troops, i, 257. Appointed Governor of Illah-abad, i, 261.

**SERDAR-QHAN**, an Afghan Commander; dismissed from the Bengal army, ii, 17. Accepts the proposals of Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, Governor of Azimabad; encamps over against Azimabad, ii, 30. Pays respects to the Governor; disclaims his knowledge of the conspiracy, ii, 32. His death by a cannon-ball, ii, 54.

**SER-EFRAZ-QHAN, ALA-ED-DOWLA**, succeeds his father, Shudja-

qhan as Viceroy of Bengal, Azim-abad and Oressa, i, 325. His piety and religious practices, i, 326. His impolitic behaviour ; his inconsistency of mind, i, 327. His surprise and resentment on receipt of Aaly-verdy-qhan's letter, i, 332. His march in martial array against Aaly-verdy-qhan ; sends envoys to Aaly-verdy's camp to sound his designs, i, 334. Offers to receive Aaly-verdy into favour ; receives a curt reply from Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 336. His defeat and death in an engagement with Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 337.

SER-ENDAZ-QHAN, commanding officer of the fortress of Barabati ; his murder, ii, 82.

SEVNAH-NUVISS, or historiographer ; duty of, iii, 173.

SEYD-AALIM-OLLAH-TEBATEBA, father of Hedaiet-aaly-qhan ; implores divine assistance for the safety of Azim-abad, i, 415. Some account of, ii, 171.

SEYD-AALY-QHAN, his narrow escape from the jaws of death, ii, 38. Taken into the service of Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 430.

SEYD-ABDULLAH, an old General of Sultan Muazzem ; commands a train of artillery during the siege of Bidjapoor, iv, 174. His vigorous attack and repulse, iv, 175. Recalled to court by the Emperor Aoreng-zib, iv, 176. Disgraced and confined, iv, 178. Liberated to take part in the siege of Haider-abad, iv, 182. Brings the enemy to bay ; his victory ; receives Imperial reproaches instead of applause, iv, 183.

SEYD-AHMED-QHAN, second son-in-law of Aaly-verdy-qhan ; appointed Governor of Oressa, i, 345. His enormous oppressions, i, 360. His detested government produces a strong conspiracy, i, 361. Threatened with a revolution, i, 362. Seized and confined, i, 363. Aaly-verdy-qhan organises an expedition for the recovery of his person, i, 366. Narrowly escapes being murdered i, 367. His interview with Aaly-verdy-qhan ; thanksgiving service for his miraculous delivery, i, 368. Celebrates the marriage of his daughter, ii, 18. In charge of Azim-abad, ii, 58. His employment of certain persons of distinction lately in the service of Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, which is not relished by his mother-in-law, ii, 65. His reverse of fortune ; resolves to quit Bengal ; his request granted by Aaly-verdy-qhan, ii, 67. His followers, a list of, ii, 71. Settles at Moorshood-abad, ii, 72. Appointed Governor of Puraniah, ii, 74. His journey to Puraniah, ii, 75. His reply to Faqhr-eddin-hossein-qhan, ii, 78. His arrival at Moorshood-abad ; gives consent to a marriage between his daughter and Aga-baba ; his return to Puraniah, ii, 109. Comes to Moorshood-abad for the intended marriage, ii, 118. His return to Puraniah on suspension of the match, ii, 119. Goes to Radj-mahal, ii, 124. Returns to Puraniah ; secures himself in his post, ii, 126. Comparison of, with Nevazish-mahmed qhan and Zin-eddin-

ahmed-qhan, ii, 133. His private life, ii, 134-136. Riches found in his treasury, ii, 137. Makes the author a present of an elephant, ii, 138-139. His bounty to the author, ii, 140. His modesty and obliging manners, ii, 141. His chastisement of Shek-mahmed-djelil, Zemindar of Puraniah, ii, 142. His treatment of his son after a quarrel with Nakya-aaly-qhan, ii, 145. His death, an account of, ii, 147-150.

SEYD-MAHMED-ASKERY, a noble personage renowned for learning and sanctity, iv, 90.

SEYD-MAHMED-QHAN, Deputy Governor of Moorshood-abad, his jealousy of Mahmed-taky-qhan, ii, 182. Gets intelligence of the victory of the English; his shameful flight towards Monghyr, ii, 485.

SHAH-AALEM, EMPEROR, *alias* Aaly-goher, son of Aalemghir the Second; proceeds to Illah-abad, 284. Strongly recommended by his mother to Hedaiet-aaly-qhan, ii, 287. His reception by Mahmed-cooly-qhan, ii, 289. Sets out on his expedition against Bengal, ii, 290. Leaves Benares, ii, 291. Fords the Keremnassa and marches to Azim-abad, ii, 292. Pitches his tent on the plains of Poolvary; prepares a magnificent tent for the reception of Ram-narain, ii, 300. His remarks on the eulogium passed on Ram-narain by Mahmed-cooly-qhan; accepts Ram-narain's homage, ii, 302. Directs attendance of Hedaiet-aaly-qhan with all his troops on Mahmed-cooly-qhan, ii, 308. Gets notice of the arrival of the Bengal army with the English, ii, 317. His determination for a retreat; visited by Moosher Lass; his reply to the latter's questions, ii, 318. At Saherseram, ii, 319. His letter to Colonel Clive, ii, 321. Takes Moosher Lass in his service and sets out for Mirzapoore, ii, 322. Invited by Camcar-qhan, a Zemindar of Narhut-semai; advances towards Azim-abad, ii, 332. Receives intelligence of his father's death, ii, 335. His letter to Hedaiet-aaly-qhan, ii, 336. Ascends the throne, ii, 337. Gathers troops; advances against Ram-narain, ii, 338. His engagement with Ram-narain, ii, 339. His victory, ii, 340. Marches forward to fight the Bengal army with Colonel Clive and the English; his battle order, ii, 343. Beaten by Colonel Clive; flies to Bahar, ii, 345. His junction with two Marhatta Commanders, ii, 346. His return to Burdevan, ii, 348. Besieges Azim-abad, ii, 349. Beaten; goes to Gaya-manpur; invites Hedaiet-aaly-qhan to camp, ii, 353. Accepts the advice of Camcar-qhan; commands Marhatta Shyoo-bahat to make excursions on the estate of Hedaiet-aaly-qhan, ii, 354. Obliged to live by rapine and plunder, ii, 377. Accepts Hedaiet-aaly-qhan's resignation, ii, 379. His engagement with Major Carnac; his flight, ii, 401. Declines the proposals of Major Carnac and dismisses his envoy, Shitab-ray, ii, 403. Recommended to Shudj-ed-

dowla and to all the Afghan Princes by the Abdali-monarch ; adopts Hedaiet-aaly-qhan's advice, ii, 404. Signs a note commanding Shitab-ray's return ; encamps near the English army ; advances towards the English camp, ii, 405. Acknowledged Sovereign by Major Carnac and his officers ; his encampment on the lake of Muty-pur, ii, 406. At the English factory, ii, 407. Accepts the homage of Mir-cassem-qhan ; accepts an offer of twenty-four Lacks a year from Mir-cassen-qhan, ii, 408. Orders Hedaiet-aaly-qhan to retire upon his estate, ii, 409. His Sovereignty acknowledged by Nedjib-ed-dowla, Shudja-ed-dowla and Ahmed-qhan-bangash ; signs a treaty with the English, ii, 414. Marches towards Shudja-ed-dowla's country ; his reception by Shudja-ed-dowla ; marches to the capital of the latter, ii, 415. His journey to Illahabad ; visited by Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 521. Encamps at Benares, ii, 524. Crosses the Ganga ; marches against the English through Radja Balvand-singh's country ii, 525. Enters Azimabad, ii, 528. Sick of his dependence on Shudja-ed-dowla ; his negotiation with Major Carnac, ii, 536. Miscarriage of his negotiation, ii, 537. His defeat in the battle of Bacsar, ii, 567. Sends for the English ; joined by them, ii, 571. Some account of him, iii, 365-366. His heroical retreat through a whole army, iii, 367-368. Flies from place to place ; received everywhere with honor and respect, iii, 369-370. His son, Mirza-djuvan baqht, raised to the throne by the Marhattas, iii, 386. Some account of his Court, iv, 26-27. Submits to the whims of the English Commanders stationed at his residence in Illahabad ; resolves to repair to his capital in the face of strong oppositions, iv, 36. Encamps at Ferohabad to come to settlement with Muzafer-djung ; arrives at his capital, iv, 38. Falls out with the Marhattas, iv, 39. Makes a treaty of peace with the Marhattas, iv, 41. His character and administration contrasted with those of Emperor Aoreng-zib, iv, 125.

**SHAH-ABDOL-GHAFOOR**, a Fakir ; rises in position and power ; his unpopularity, disgrace and imprisonment, i, 253.

**SHAH-ADHEM**, some account of this eminent man, ii, 170.

**SHAH-DANA**, a Fakir, gives information of the whereabouts of Seradj-ed-dowla, to the latter's enemies, ii, 239.

**SHAH-DJAAFRY**, son of Shah-haidery ; short history of, ii, 172-174.

**SHAH-GURG**, alias SAINT WOLF, a disciple of Moluvy Mahmed-aaref, ii, 168 (*foot-note*).

**SHAH-HAIDERI**, some account of, ii, 171-172.

**SHAH-MAHMED-AALIM**, some account of, ii, 169-170.

**SHAH-NEDJM-EDDIN**, better known as Shah Moolah, some account of, ii, 175.

**SHAH-NEVAZ-QHAN**, younger son of Zekeriah-qhan, seizes and confines his elder brother, iii, 241. Becomes sole Governor of Lahore and Mooltan ; resigns his Government in favor of Ahmed-abdali, iii, 254. Receives the fugitive Nassyr-qhan

with great honors and proposes to him to join in attacking the Abdali ; rejects a letter of invitation from the Abdali-king, iii, 256. Encounters the Abdali and turns a fugitive without suffering a defeat, iii, 259. His settlement with Baladji-rao, iii, 322. Made Prime Minister to Selabet-djung, iii, 324. His death, iii, 357.

**SHAOCAT-DJUNG**, his pretended grief for his departed father, Seyd-ahmed-qhan, ii, 151. Sends a supplique to Aaly verdy-qhan, ii, 152. Succeeds to his father's Government of Purania, ii, 153. Alarmed at Seradj-ed-dowlah's arrival at Radjmahal, ii, 187. Induces Gholam-hossein-qhan to return to office, ii, 194. His strange character, ii, 195. His head overset by a letter from Mir-djafer-qhan ; takes into his service two sycophants, Mir-maaly-qhan and Habib-beg, ii, 196. His ambitious projects ; obtains leave of the Vezir Umad-el-mulk to take possession of the province of Bengal, Bahar and Oressa under certain conditions, ii, 197. His ignominious treatment of Colonel Lally, the Commander of his artillery, ii, 199. His letter to the Vezir Umed-el-mulk ; uses abusive language to his officers, ii, 201. Gets information of a confederacy ; sends for a number of his officers and promises them a better behaviour, ii, 202. His mistrust of all his officers ; receives news of Colonel Lally's departure to Moorshood-abad upon an invitation from Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 203. Receives a letter from Seradj-ed-dowla ; holds a meeting of his officers ; asks the author's opinion on the letter, ii, 204. His approval of the author's advice, ii, 205. His extravagant letter to Seradj-ed-dowla ; prepares for war, ii, 206. Outcome of his indecent treatment of his Generals ; his troops disposed in a strange manner, ii, 207. His message to Car-guzar-qhan and the other officers, ii, 210. Reply to his message ; his subsequent message, ii, 211. An account of his engagement with the army of Seradj-ed-dowla, his defeat and death, ii, 213.

**SHAH-PUR**, Battle of, i, 191.

**SHAH-QHYZIR**, (*or Saint Green*) a religious man of distinction, some account of, ii, 170.

**SHAH-SADYC**, stands surety for Abdol-aaly-qhan's peaceful behaviour, ii, 42.

**SHAH-SULTAN-SULEIMAN**, the Emperor of Iran ; thinks his honor concerned in rescuing the forlorn Prince Ecber ; his threatening message to the treacherous King of Mascat, commanding the release of his illustrious prisoner ; sends a noble of his court to receive the liberated Prince, iv, 155. Receives Prince Ecber with the greatest hospitality, iv, 157.

**SHEAB-EDDIN-QHAN**, *alias GHAZI-EDDIN-QHAN*, son of Nizam-el-mulk, trained to war by the Emperor Aoreng-zib, iv, 168. Supplied with a good army and ordered to possess the Marhatta fortresses, iv, 169. Lays siege to the town of Rameh, iv, 171. Makes himself conspicuous during the

siege of Bidjapoor, iv, 176-177. Comes to the assistance of Aoreng-zib during the siege of Golconda, iv, 198. Failure of his attempt at escalade, iv, 205. The batteries and scaffoldings raised by his ingenuity overset by the rains, iv, 206.

**SHEH ARDOLLAH**, informs Mir-cassem-qhan of Gurghin-qhan's treason, ii, 438. Called upon to adduce proofs of his charge, ii, 441. Sent prisoner to Putaniah; his death, ii, 492.

**SHIH-HAMID-EDDIN**, a Commander of Ram-narain; his advice to Shitab-ray, ii, 358.

**SHEH-MAHMED-HASSEN**, short history of, ii, 178-180.

**SHEH-MAHMUD-MAASOOM**, an eminent Commander; appointed Deputy Governor of Catee, i, 370. His death in an engagement with the Marhattas under Mir-habib, i, 405.

**SHEH-MUEZ-EDDIN-QHAN**, a famous Commander; affords protection to the family and property of the citizens of Lucknow against the Afghan intruders; visits the Afghan Commander, iii, 301. Orders the Afghan Catwal to be turned out; proclaims himself as Catwal from the Vezir's side; drives away the Afghans with great slaughter, iii, 302.

**SHEH-SAAD-OULLAH**, a Commander of Mir-cassem-qhan; accused of holding correspondence with the fugitive zemindars, ii, 428. His execution, ii, 429.

**SHIM-SHIR-QHAN**, an Afghan Commander; his dismissal, ii, 17. Accepts the offer of the Governor of Azimabad; encamps over against Azimabad, ii, 30. His reception of the Governor; his disapprobation of Morad-shir-qhan's proposal, ii, 31. Pays his respects to the Governor, ii, 36. Receives news of the coming of Aaly-verdy-qhan; applies for help to his countrymen, ii, 39. His respectful treatment of Abdol-aaly-qhan; subsequently orders Abdol-aaly-qhan to be executed, ii, 41. His march against Aaly-verdy-qhan, ii, 44. Visits Mir-habib, ii, 50. His demand upon Marhabib, ii, 51. Disposition of his army, ii, 54. Slain by Djib-beg, ii, 56.

**SHITAB-RAY, RAO**, a clerk of Aga-suleiman, Minister of Mahmed-shah; secures patents for three offices; obtains Colonel Clive's recommendations in support of his patents, ii, 267. Installed in the three offices by Radja Ramnarain; lives honorably at Moorshood-abad, ii, 268. His bravery, ii, 350. Accepts the offer of Mr. Amyatt and Captain Knox; joins Captain Knox with his force, ii, 358. His brave stand against the attack of Qhadum-bassen-qhan, ii, 360. Encomiums paid to him, by Captain Knox, ii, 361. Comes back to Azimabad; wins the heart of the whole English nation, ii, 362. His embassy to the Emperor Shah-aalem; his prediction regarding the latter; his return to camp, ii, 403. Shews the Emperor's note to Major Carnac, ii, 405. His account of the three offices held by him examined by the Council at Calcutta; repairs to Shudja-ed-

dowla's dominions, ii, 420. Takes service with Shudja-ed-dowla; rises into favour; his mission to Mir-djaafar-qhan, ii, 520. Imparts to Major Carnac the proposal made by Beni-bahadyr; his letter of reprimand to the latter, ii, 575-576. His address to Major Carnac, ii, 577. Accompanies Major Stibbert in his march to Illahabad, ii, 578. His eminent services to the English, ii, 579. Hemmed in by a body of the Marhatta cavalry; rescued by some English troops, ii, 581. The negotiator of peace between the English and Shudja-ed-dowla ii, 584. Devan of Bahar on the part of the Emperor; his intimate connection with General Carnac obtains for him a free-hold or Djaghir yielding revenue to the amount of a lac of Rupees, iii, 3. Accompanies Lord Clive to the Imperial Court at Illahabad, iii, 9. Occupies a high place in the heart of Lord Clive for his exceptional qualifications and services to the Company, iii, 10. Obliged to acknowledge his illness on the proposal of his being attached to the person of Lord Clive for business; his titles and promotion, iii, 15. Introduces regulations for the management of State affairs, iii, 17. Discovers strange mismanagement in the administration of Durdj-narain, iii, 18. Proposes expedients for the reconciliation of accounts which Durdj-narain does not listen to, iii, 18-19. Invested by the Council of Calcutta with sole authority over the province of Azimabad, iii, 23. His administration suspected, iii, 33. Undergoes a scrutinising examination conducted by Mr. Vansittart, from which he acquits himself with credit, iii, 34-35. Threatened with arrest and confinement, iii, 39. Arrested and sent to Calcutta, iii, 43. Divested of all powers over the Imperial revenue, iii, 44. His trial; his acquittal with honor, iii, 47. His reinstatement; his death, iii, 48. His parentage, character and administration reviewed, iii, 49-55. His generosity on the trying occasion of the famine of 1770 A.D., iii, 56-58. A Mussulman in his heart and a fanatical Shyah, iii, 60-64. Adopts iniquitous methods to support his expenses, iii, 65. His office bestowed on his son, iii, 67.

SHA-ED-DOWLA, Viceroy of Aood and Lucknow; his reception of Prince Shah-aalem; goes to Illahabad; fraud committed by; his return to his capital, ii, 289-290. Opposes Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 322. Invites Ahmed-shah, the viceroy, ii, 413. Recommended by the Abdellis to acknowledge Shah-aalem as the lawful Sovereign; has money in the name of Shah-aalem; supplicates Shah-aalem's coming to ascend the throne of his ancestors, ii, 414. His reception of Prince Shah-aalem; marches to his capital in company with the Prince, ii, 415. His march to Illahabad; visits Mir-cassem-qhan; invites the latter to visit Emperor Shah-aalem, ii, 521. Accepts Mir-cassem-qhan's offer to bring under control the Radja of Bundelcund; the refractory Radja of Bundelcund brought

under control of, ii, 523. Encamps at Benares ; agreement entered into with, by Mir cassem-qhan ; reinforced by a detachment under command of Moosher Medec, ii, 524. Crosses the Ganga ; marches against the English through Radja Balvand-sing's country, ii, 525. Joined by the Radja with his force ; his army utterly ungovernable ; advice given to him upon the mode of prosecuting the war with the English, ii, 526-527. His deafness to the advice ; enters Azimabad, ii, 528. Disposition of his troops, ii, 531. His engagement with the English under the walls of Patna, ii, 532-533. Encamps on the river Poon-poon, ii, 534. His skirmish with a detachment under command of Major Carnac ; his retreat to his camp ; raises the siege of Azimabad and returns to Bacsar, ii, 535. Receives a message from Mir-cassem-qhan ; his discourse with Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, ii, 538-539. His demand of monthly payment due by Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 540. His abrupt message to Mir-cassem-qhan ; his reply to Aaly-hibrahim-qhan's representations, ii, 541. Alarmed ; his measures to pacify Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 543. His discourse with Aaly-hibrahim-qhan ; visits Mir-cassem-qhan ; makes him lay down the Fakir's garb, ii, 544-545. Visited by Aaly-hibrahim-qhan ; his discourse with him, ii, 549-550. His approval of Mir-suleiman's advice ; provides him with the necessary letters, ii, 553. Gets intelligence of the motions of the English ; sends some Moghul cavalry to impede their march, ii, 563. His carelessness ; his battle array, ii, 564. His engagement with the English under command of Major Monro ; his defeat in the battle of Bacsar, ii, 565-567. Orders release of Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 568. Flies with his family to Illahabad, ii, 570. Goes to Berheily ; arrives at the country of Ahmed-qhan-bangash ; holds a meeting with the Afghan Princes, ii, 573. Joined by Malhar-rao, the Marhatta Commander, ii, 574. Marches against the English ; worsted in an action in the plains of Corra, ii, 580. Repairs to Ferohabad, ii, 581. Goes to the English camp without any safe conduct ; honorably received by the English General, ii, 583. Concludes a peace with the English, ii, 584. Applies to every one of his relations for some money ; helped by his wife, ii, 585. Settles his accounts with the English, ii, 586. Departs for Faizabad, ii, 587. Succeeds his father, Abool-mansoor-qhan, as Viceroy, iii, 339. His character and conduct ; his dominions invaded by the Abdali-king at the instigation of Mir-sheab-eddin, iii, 340. Secures the friendship of, and unites with, Nedjib-ed-dowla to stand against Umed-el-mulk, iii, 371. Cooperates with Nedjib ed-dowla to oppose the Marhattas ; his army severely handle the Marhattas and gain a victory over them, iii, 373.Flushed with victory proceeds the two armies to deliver Nedjib-ed-dowla from his

besieged position, iii, 374. Waits upon the Abdali king ; his bold answer, iii, 382. His taunting answer to the Marhattas in refusing a proposal of peace, iii, 385 Appointed Vezir to the Emperor Shah-aalem, iii, 392. His surprise at the singular appearance of a young man slain, iii, 393. Receives the investiture of Vezir together with other presents, iii, 395. Gives protection to Mir-cassem-qhan Navab of Bengal ; offers assistance to the Navab for the recovery of his dominions, iv, 25. His engagement and treaty of peace with the English ; iv, 25. His generous treatment of the sons of Ahmed-qhan-bangash iv, 38. His solemn treaty with the English ; conceives the idea of the overthrow of the Rohillahs, iv, 51. His message to the Rohillah Princes unattended to, iv, 52-53. His victory over the Rohillahs, iv, 54-55. Takes possession of the Rohillah countries, iv, 56. His alliance with Mirza-nedjef-qhan, iv, 58. Makes a treaty of partition with Nedjef-qhan, iv, 59. Suffers from an eruption of a peculiar type, iv, 60. Departs for Faizabad for a change of air, iv, 62. His character and actions criticised, iv, 63-65. Popular feeling at his death, iv, 67.

**SHUDJA-QHAN**, alias SHUDJA-ED DOWLA ; succeeds his father-in-law, Djaafer-qhan as Viceroy of Bengal, i, 273. His passion for women ; his separation from his consort, i, 275. Takes into his court the illustrious Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 276. Bright side of his nature, i, 279-280. His prosperous rule ; his distribution of offices, i, 281. His admirable character exemplified, i, 322-325. His death, i, 323.

**SIMBA**, son of Siva-dji ; created Monsobdar of five thousand horse by Emperor Aoreng-z'b, iv, 15. Succeeds his father, iv, 16. Resolves to stand in defence against Sheab-eddin-qhan the Imperial Commander ; contrives strange artillery at the siege of Ramch, iv, 171.

**SITARAM**, appointed assistant to Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, Examiner of Military Accounts, ii, 389. His practice of exacting exorbitant fees from the suitors, ii, 427. Accused of holding correspondence with a Zemindar, ii, 428. His execution, ii, 429.

**SIVA-DJI**, son of Saho-dji ; assumes independence, iv, 13. Takes possession of forty fortresses ; extends his marauding expedition to the territory of Aoreng-zib, iv, 14. His submission to the Emperor Aoreng-zib ; his interview with the latter ; his confinement, iv, 15. His ravages ; his death, iv, 16.

**SMITH**, (Usmatt) Colonel Richard, afterwards General ; left at the Imperial Court as Lord Clive's agent, iii, 9. His insolence, iii, 10. Appointed Commander in-Chief of the British force, iii, 24.

**SOMRO**, the European adventurer ; undertakes to put to death all the English prisoners of Mir-cassem-qhan ; executes

the order, ii, 505, and *foot-note*. Takes service with Shudja-ed-dowla, ii, 545.

**SOOCK-LAL**, head spy of Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 426.

**SOOROODJ-MULL**, Radja ; renders valuable assistance to the Vezir Abool-mansoor-qhan in his operations against the Rohillahs, iii, 306-307. His quarrels with Saadat-qhan, iii, 312. Offers a bold front, iii, 313. Besieges the enemy's camp for three days ; forces Saadat qhan to conclude an agreement, iii, 314. Assists Saadat-qhan with his person and army in the latter's expedition towards Narnoul ; returns offended to his own country, iii, 315. Enters the service of Abool-mansoor-qhan during the Civil War, iii, 332. Attacks old Delhi, iii, 334. Set upon by the Marhattas, takes shelter in strong fortresses, iii, 335. His message to the Emperor and the Vezir, iii, 336. Abandons the Marhatta cause, shocked at their remorseless proceedings, iii, 385. The Djatt Prince ; an estimate of his character and abilities, iv, 27. Disciplines his cavalry after his own method ; his friction with Nedjib-ed-dowla, iv, 28. Encroaches upon the territory of the Balooches, iv, 30. Conducts war against Nedjib-ed-dowla, iv, 31. Slain in a singular manner, iv, 32.

**SOOTY**, Battle of, ii, 487-489.

**STIBBERT (USTUBERT)**, Major ; his march to Illah-abad, ii, 578. Takes possession of the fortress of Illah-abad, ii, 579.

**SUDJAN-SING**, appointed to the Fodjday of Hedjly, ii, 27.

**SUNDER-SING**, an accomptant of Radja Ram-narain ; his confinement ; his effects confiscated by Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 418.

**SUNDER-SING**, a Zemindar ; his quarrel with Camcar-qhan ; sides with Radja Ram-narain ; gets Camcar-qhan arrested and confined, ii, 264. Invites Shah-aalem ; his hatred of Mir-djafer-qhan, ii, 284. Assembles his troops silently ; chides Sheh-gholam-ghoos, one of his Commanders, ii, 285. His murder, ii, 286.

**SVCS**, The ; some account of, i, 82. Their conversion from mendicants to soldiers, i, 85. Their uniform appearance and dress, i, 89. Their destruction after a multitude of bloody actions, i, 86. The bad administration of the Viceroy of Lahore and Mooltan strengthens their fraternity, iii, 341. Ravages of ; proclaim an Emperor of their own, iv, 3. Establish themselves in Lahore and Mooltan, iv, 8. Their overthrow contemplated, iv, 112. Shamefully defeat the Imperial army, iv, 113. Submit to the superiority of Nedjef-qhan, iv, 114.

## T.

**TALINGAS** (*i.e.*, Sipahees) ; ii, 334 (*foot-note*).

**T!MOOR-SHAH**, son of Ahmed-shah-abdali ; appointed Governor of Pendjab, Mooltan and Tatta by his father, iii, 353. Flies from his Government pursued by the formidable Marhatta army, iii, 377.

**U.**

**UDUA**, discription of the situation of, ii, 491-492.

**UDUA-NALA**, Battle of, ii, 498.

**UMAD EL-MULK**. *See* Mir-sheab-eddin.

**V.**

**VACAA-NUVISS**, or Remembrancer or Gazetteer, iii, 173.

**VANSITTART**, George, brother of Henry Vansittart; starts at the head of a Council to enquire into the revenue of Azim-abad; his reception by Shitab-ray, iii, 34. His scrutinising examination of the Radja Shitab-ray's government; his satisfaction at the latter's fidelity, wisdom and knowledge, iii, 35.

**VANSITTART**, Henry; his arrival at Calcutta; assumes the Governor-ship of Calcutta, ii, 376. Impression made on him by the discourses of Mir-cassem-qhan; his scheme for appointing Mir-cassem-qhan Deputy to Mir-djafer-qhan, ii, 379. Asks the opinion and advice of the Members of his council; gains the consent of most of the principal Members with the exception of four; his disunion with Mr. Amyatt, ii, 380. His scheme takes effect; his voyage to Moorshood-abad with Mr. Hushtin and other gentlemen; lodges at Moorad-bagh; receives Navab Mir-djafer-qhan, ii, 381. Explains the motive of his voyage to the Navab; his proposal declined by the latter; exposes to Mir-cassem-qhan his conference with the Navab, ii, 382. His conference with Mr. Hushtin and other gentlemen; his final resolution, ii, 383. His arrival at Mir-djafer-qhan's palace with Mr. Hushtin and others; his message to the Navab to bring him to reason, ii, 384. His opinion assented to by all the other English officers; deposes Mir-djafer-qhan and places Mir cassem-qhan in his stead; his return to Moorad-bagh, ii, 385. His subsequent message to Mir-djafer-qhan, ii, 386. His interposition on Shitab-ray's behalf; orders the latter to quit Mir-cassem-qhan's dominions, ii, 420. Leaves Calcutta, ii, 442. Arrives at Monghyr; his reception by Navab Mir-cassem-qhan; visits the Navab, ii, 443. Imparts a warning to the Navab upon being entertained with a military exhibition by him, ii, 444. His advice to the Navab; proceeds to Azim abad, ii, 445. Obliged to command Mir-cassem-qhan to hold all English goods duty-free and set the English prisoners at liberty, ii, 453. His consent to the resolution of the English Councillors; his letter and message to Mir-cassem-qhan, ii, 454. His threatening letter to Seyd-mahmed-qhan, Deputy Governor of Moorshood abad, respecting Mr. Amyatt's murder, ii, 477. His reasonable address to the English Councillors; offers Mir-djafer-qhan the sovereignty of Bengal and the services of the English forces, ii, 479. His notion of Mir-djafer qhan's character, ii, 556. His notion of Nand-comer; consents to

Nand-comer's going to Mir-djaaffer-qhan, ii, 557. Displeased at the appointment of Colonel Clive as sole authority over the provinces of Bengal and Azimabad; sets out abruptly for England; leaves the management of affairs in charge of the remaining Members of the Council at Calcutta, iii, 2. Sets down in writing the misdemeanours of Nand-comer and leaves the sheets in charge of his brother, George Vansittart, for production in the Council, iii, 3. Vigorously repels the severe charges brought against him by Lord Clive in England iii, 36. His sensible remarks on the relation subsisting between the Governors and the governed; his exoneration from the several charges brought against him; his re appointment and departure for India; his death at sea, iii, 38.

**VERELST (VERIS)** Mr.; appointed Governor of Calcutta on the departure of Lord Clive for England, iii, 24. His administrative reforms with respect to finance, police and justice; his government marked by the appearance of a terrible famine and an outbreak of small-pox, iii, 25. Returns home; succeeded by Mr. Cartier, iii, 33.

## W.

**WATSON**, Admiral, known as Admiral Dilir-djung-bahadyr; guided by Moosher Terno to attack Farash-danga, ii, 225. Takes by force the French fortress; defeats the French and takes possession of their factory at Cossim-bazar, ii, 226.

**WATTS (WATCH)** Mr., Chief of the factory at Cossim-bazir, taken prisoner, ii, 190. Set at liberty on Seradj-ed-dowla's defeat; negotiator of peace between the English and Seradj-ed-dowla, ii, 223. Recommends Mir-abdollah to Ram-narain, ii, 270.

## Y.

**YAHIA-QHAN**, eldest son of Zekeriah-qhan; quarrels with his younger brother and is confined; turns a Fakir, iii, 241. Promoted to the Divanship of the Qhallissah office; succeeded by his eldest son after his death, iii, 249.

**YENGHI-DOONIA** (America); some account of, iii, 95.

**YEZZ-EDDIN**, son of the Emperor Djehandar-shah; sent to fight Feroh-syur, i, 50. His shameful flight, i, 51.

**YNAIET-OLLAH-QHAN**, a nobleman of great character for acuteness and fidelity; appointed to the office of Minister of Finance, i, 104. His financial reforms, i, 105. His breach with the Vezir Abdollah-qhan's dependents, i, 105-106.

**YQHLAS-QHAN**, a Gentoo convert of great abilities; receives orders to write a history entitled Feroh-syur-nameh, i, 104. Proposes expedients to reconcile the hostile parties at the Imperial court, i, 105.

**YTICAD-QBAN**, a favourite of the Emperor Feroh-syur. See Mahomed-morad.

## Z.

**ZAAFER-QHAN**, a nobleman of the court of Amed-shah ; charged with bribery ; disgraced, i, 253. His death, i, 272.

**ZABETA-QHAN**, son and successor to Nedjib-ed-dowla ; brings under control the Rohillas ; disunion with his brothers, iv, 35. His country sacked and ruined by the Marhattas, iv, 39. A strong combination formed for his overthrow, iv, 42. Joins with the other Princes of his tribe, iv, 43. His defeat, iv, 44. His defeated troops fall upon each other, iv, 45. Takes shelter in Shudji-ed-dowla's country, iv, 46. Stands against Nedjef-qhan ; beaten, iv, 109-110. Obtains his pardon, iv, 111.

**ZEKERIAH-QHAN**, son of Abdol-semed-qhan ; succeeds the latter as Governor of Lahore and Mooltan, i, 295. Encounters Nadyr-shah and suffers a defeat, i, 307. His death, iii, 240. Succeeded by his two sons, iii, 241.

**ZIN-EDDIN-AHMED-QHAN**, youngest nephew and son-in-law of Aaly-verdy-qhan and father of Seradj-ed-dowla ; his honors and decorations, i, 344. Confers the management of his finances upon Rai Chintamon-das, i, 358. Honoured by the author in recognition of personal favours received, i, 359. Undertakes an expedition against the refractory inhabitants of Bodj-pur, i, 370. His expedition crowned with success, i, 372. Appoints secret agents for the murder of Roshen-qhan, i, 374. Displeased and confounded when sent for by Aaly-verdy-qhan for immediate assistance, i, 396. In conference with Hedaiet-aaly qhan, i, 397. Proceeds to Ticary as Governor-General of Bahar under pretence of inspection, i, 423. Secures the city of Azimabad against Marhatta inroads by a wall, i, 428. His high opinion and respect for the author's mother, i, 429. Ordered to quit Azimabad and to repair to Moorshoodabad in all haste, i, 445. Holds a council and determines to defend Azimabad rather than quit it, i, 447. His grand preparations for war, i, 448-449. Sends an artful ingenious message to Mustapha-qhan and receives another in reply, i, 450-451. His activity and vigour in the face of reverses, i, 453. Encounters a sharp engagement, i, 455. Pursues the enemy, victory being on his side i, 462. Receives a letter from Aaly-verdy-qhan, i, 463. His reconciliation with Abdol-aaly-qhan, ii, 9. His ambitious views, ii, 29. His message to Aaly-verdy-qhan ; his successful negotiation with Shim-shir-qhan and Serdar-qhan, ii, 30. Visits Shim-shir-qhan, who disapproves of Morad-shir-qhan's proposal to fall on him with his sabre, ii, 31. Returns to his palace, ii, 32. A conspiracy against him ; his circular order, ii, 33. In the Chehel-sootoon ; list of persons attending on him, ii, 34-35. Homage paid to him by the Afghan Commanders, ii, 36. His murder, ii, 37. Treatment of his remains ; his consort and children dragged ignominiously to prison, ii, 43.

Z'N-EL-ABEDIN-QHAN, a Commander of Mahmed-cooly-qhan ; his parentage ; his previous service under Abdool-mansoor-qhan ; his generous temper, ii, 324. Puts himself upon his defence ; his deliverance ; repairs to Benares, ii, 325. His gallantry, ii, 350. Hit by a musket-ball, ii, 351.

ZOHRA, a female friend of Emperor Djehandar shah's mistress, Lal-coar, i, 37. Her elevation in rank and position, i, 38. Her singular quarrel with General Chin-kylydj-qhan, i, 39.

ZULFICAR-QHAN, appointed Governor-General of Decan by the Emperor Bahadyr-shah ; restores order to every part of the Empire, i, 16. Instigates Muezz-eddin to oppose Azim-ush-shan on the latter's assumption of the crown, i, 24. Appointed Vezir, i, 35. His singular answer to Emperor Djehander-shah, i, 36. His firmness of character, i, 39. Charged with causing the death of Azim-ush-shan ; murdered in cold blood, i,



लाल बहादुर शास्त्री राष्ट्रीय प्रशासन अकादमी, पुस्तकालय  
*Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration Library*

मसूरी  
MUSSOORIE

अवादित सं०  
Acc. No.....

कृपया इस पुस्तक को निम्न लिखित दिनांक या उससे पहले वापस कर दे।

Please return this book on or before the date last stamped below.

954.029

Hos  
v.4

42705

अवासित सं.

ACC. No.....

वर्ग सं:

पुस्तक सं.

Class No. ....

Book No. ....

लेखक

Author..... Hosseain-Khan, Seid-Gholam.

शीर्पंक

Title..The..Seir..Mutagherin..of...  
review..of..modern..times. ....

तिर्यग्रम टिकिंग !

42705

954.029

Hos  
V.4

LIBRARY

LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI

National Academy of Administration

MUSSOORIE

Accession No.

1. Books are issued for 15 days only but may have to be recalled earlier if urgently required.
2. An over-due charge of 25 Paise per day per volume will be charged.
3. Books may be renewed on request, at the discretion of the Librarian.
4. Periodicals, Rare and Reference books may not be issued and may be consulted only in the Library.
5. Books lost, defaced or injured in any way shall have to be replaced or its double price shall be paid by the borrower.

Help to keep this book fresh, clean & moving